

A LEARNED AND  
**VERY ELOQVENT**  
*Treatie, writen in Latin by*  
the famousse man *Hieronymus Osorius*  
Bishop of Sylua in Portugal, wherein  
he confuteth a certayne Aunswere  
made by M. Walter Haddon against  
the Epistle of the said Bishoppe  
vnto the Queenes  
Maiestie.

§

*Translated into English by Iohn Fen stu-*  
*dent of Diuinitie in the Vniuer-*  
*sitie of Louen.*



LOVANII,  
Apud Ioannem Foulcerum,  
Anno 1568.  
*Cum Gratia & Prinilegio.* †

1.9.85



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# TO THE CATHO- like Reader.



*Was moued (gentle Reader) to translate this Booke into our mother tongue, for diuers and sundrie causes. First the fame of the authour prouoked me thereunto, who is, not in my priuate opinion, but in the estimation of al such as know him, a vertuous Prieste and godly Bishoppe, in the iudgement of the world, for grauitie, wisdom, eloquence and profound knowledge in al kinde of learning in these our daies a singular, yea an odde man. Then I thought it expedient, to impart the benefit thereof vnto my vnlearned countrey men,*

## To the Catholike

bicause as it was writen generally for  
the commoditie of al the Churche of  
Christ, so it was especially meant and  
as it were dedicated to the Churche  
and cōmon weal of Englād, vnto the  
which, as it may appeere both by the  
epistle which he wrot before vnto the  
Queenes Maiestie, as also by this  
Booke, he bare singular good will.  
Moreouer I iudged, that my labour in  
translating it shuld be the more pro-  
fitably employed, bicause there are in  
~~it~~ many goodly exhortations to stirre  
a mā vp to the loue and feare of God,  
many holesome lessons, by the whiche  
a Christian man may direct and or-  
der his life, many points of Catholike  
doctrīne (whiche are in these dayes  
called in controuersie by our Aduer-  
saries) so plainly set out, that the vn-  
lear-

Reader.

lerned maie take great profit therof,  
so lernedly disputed, that such as are  
wel exercised in Diuinitie, may find  
wherwith to increase their knowlege.  
To be short, the thing that most mo-  
ued me to take these paines, was, bi-  
cause it containeth a brieve confuta-  
tion of manie erroneous opinions, of  
much heretical and pestilent doctrine,  
comprised in a litle booke, set out  
these late yeares in the name of M.  
Haddon: wherin was pretended an  
answere to the Epistle of Osorius,  
(which I spake of before) but in ef-  
fecte was nothing els, but a numbre  
of stout assertions faintly prooued, be-  
sprinkled here and there with bitter  
tauntes, vnsauerie gyrdes, and other  
the like scomme or froth of vndige-  
sted affections. These were the things  
\* iij that

## To the Catholike

that caused me to spare some time  
from my study to trāslate this booke  
into Englishe for the commoditie of  
suche as vnderstande not the Latine  
tongue: wherof if thou shalt receiue  
any profit (as thou maist very much,  
if thou reade it with diligence and  
good iudgement) thanke God of it,  
and with mindful hart acknowledge  
his great mercy and goodnes towards  
vs, in that it hath pleased him in this  
perilous time, not only to send vs at  
home in our owne countrie most ver-  
tuous, godlie, and learned men, to be  
vnto vs a perfecte rule both of good  
life and true beleefe: but also to moue  
the heart of this graue Father and  
reuerēt Bishop (whose learned wri-  
tinges haue deseruedly obtained so  
great authoritie thoroughout al the  
Churchē

Reader.

Church of Christ) to pitie the lamentable State of our most miserably decayed Church, and to laie his helping hand to the repairing of it, employing ther vnto the rare gyftes and graces of God, with the which (asthou shalt perceiue by reading this booke) he is most beautifullly adourned and decked. And thus I bid the heartily farewell, commending my selfe to thy deuout praier, and thee to Almighty God, whome thou shalt most humbly besech, that it maie please him, either of his mercie to turne the heartes of such as are maliciously bent against the true faith of Christe, or els of his iustice to turne the wicked deuises and diuelish practises of Achitophel and all his confederacie to the glorie of

To the Catholike Reader.  
of his holie name, and aduancement  
of the Catholike Church.

From Louen, the fyrst of  
Nouember. Anno  
Domini. 1568.

Jhon Fen.

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# THE FIRST BOOKE.



Thinke it a great grace  
and benefite of God  
M. Haddon, that your  
booke, which ye sette  
out against me a fewe  
yeres past, with much  
a doe at the length, this last daie came  
vnto my handes. Such care hath God  
put into the hart of Henrie the Card-  
inal, who is a most godly Prince and  
wise gouernour, to vse al possible di-  
ligēce, that no such bookes, as may di-  
steine the purenes of godly Religion,  
be brought in emongest vs. Had it  
not benne, that Emanuel Almada Bis-  
shoppe of Angra, a man excellently  
wel furnished with al good qualities  
and vertues, to me moſte inriere,  
both for the streight friendshippe, as  
also for the long acquaintance be-

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twene vs begone and continued euen from our Auncestours, had accompaigned the most vertuous Ladie Marie Princeſſe of Parma, into the low Counties of Flaunders, I had not as yet heard any thing either of the booke, or of the Writer. But he, after his arriual into thoſe parties, chauncing vppon the booke, thought he could no leſſe doe of friendſhippe, but take vpon him my cauſe, and confute your reprocheful wordes. Howbeit in the worke, which he wrote with ſingular diligence, he tooke vppon him the defence, not ſo muche of me, as of Religion, of pietie, of godlineſſe.

After his returne into his countrie (whiche was much later then we hoped) it was rumored ſoothwith, that an Engliſh man, whoſe name was vnknownen, had written againſt Hieronymus Oſorius, and that the Biſhoppe of Angra had earneſtly taken vpon him the defence of Oſorius, and this much

was

was signified vnto me by my friendes  
letters. At the same time, I was pain-  
fully occupied in visiting my Diocese,  
the which notwithstanding, I was not  
so letted, but that I found a time to sa-  
lute my frind, and welcome him home  
by my letters, in the which I required  
of him, that he woulde send me your  
booke together with his defence. He  
answered me to euery point of my let-  
ters, as humanitie, courtesie and frind-  
ship required. But as touching your  
booke, he said he was moued in con-  
science not to send it, vntil he had ob-  
tained licence of the Cardinal. where-  
by ye may perceiue, how heinouse and  
wicked offence it is emongest vs, to  
reade the bookes of such men, as haue  
with many errours infected Religion.  
This wise man, albeit he had had very  
exact and perfect tryal of my Religion  
by long experience, and saw that I was  
placed in the roome and dignitie of a  
Bishop, and therefore might of mine  
owne

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owne authoritie search and trie out  
what soeuer wilines or craft laie hiddē  
vnder the couert of your writings: yet  
durst he in no wise make me partaker  
of your booke, before he vnderstoode  
our Cardinales pleasure. You wil here  
peraduenture scorne and laugh at his  
ouermuch superstition. But I thal ne-  
uer thinke any diligēce that is employ-  
ed to put away the contagion of such  
a deadlie or mortal pestilence, to be  
ouermuch. After many moneths at the  
length when he vnderstoode the Car-  
dinals pleasure, he sent me your booke  
willing me withal to spare some time  
from mine owne most earnest affaires,  
to answere you, and so did the rest of  
my friendes also counsel me to doe.  
And although it might seme a discour-  
tesie not to regarde the request of my  
friendes, yet I would not haue yelded  
vnto them, if in this your woorke my  
estimation only had ben touched, and  
not the puritie of the Catholike Reli-  
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gion violated. I was also moued ther-  
vnto so muche the more, bicause I  
thought it a point of Christian charitie  
to trie, whether you might be brought  
through my diligence, to laie downe  
somewhat of your engrafted lightnes.  
For doubtlesse I may wel gather of  
these your writings, that in the wri-  
ting thereof, ye stooode very much in  
your owne conceite, yea and that in  
some places as it were rauished with  
good liking of your selfe, ye stooode stil  
looking earnestly about you euen for  
the fauourable applause of your frinds.  
But how much your cōceit hath decei-  
ued you, it shal soorthwith appeere.

First of al wheras ye say that I am a  
great framer of wordes and sentences:  
whether ye meane truely, or whether  
ye dissemble, I can not tel, but the praise  
that you geue me, I doe not acknow-  
ledge. If there be in me any cōmenda-  
ble grace of speache, truly it is bicause  
I haue bestowed my time and studie,

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not so much in words, as to attaine the knowledge of the highest pointes of learning. Besides that, this qualitie of speech, how simple so euer it be in me (if it be any thing at al) I haue vsed, not to the damnable forging of false Religiō, but with earnest and zealous good heart, to the setting foorth of true god-lines.

In the very beginning of your booke yelaid to my charge a great crime of rashnes and presumption: for thus you saie. *You tooke muche vpon you, that being a priuate man, separated from vs by land and sea, and vnacquainted with our affaires, durst so boldly speake vnto the Quenes Maiestie.* Now Sir, I beseeche you, let me learne this one thing of you. What meane you by this worde *priuate*? Is it a worde of reproche on-ly? Or may it not be applied also to good, vertuous, and noble men? Are there not emongest you many noble men that beare no office, neither serue

in

in any place of the common weale?  
 Saie you so Sir? Are al those that serue  
 not in the Office of Requestes to be  
 thrust out by you from the presence  
 and speach of Kinges? For so you laie  
 the name of a priuate man to me, as  
 though ye esteemed it to be a woord of  
 villanie and dishonour: as though you  
 would saie, that my father were some  
 vplandish man, and I brought vp in  
 basenes, of so smal accompte, that I  
 was neuer woorthie to looke any  
 King in the face, and therefore had  
 committed a fault woorthie of gre-  
 uouse punishment, that durst in my  
 letters to name Queene Elizabeth,  
 (whome I alwaies name for honours  
 sake dewe vnto her Princely Maie-  
 stie). But admitte I were not (as I am  
 in deede) of a verie auncient gentle-  
 mans howse: yet it was not the part  
 of a man brought vp in liberal scien-  
 ces, to esteeme any kind of men, or any  
 kind of honour more then the orna-  
 mentes

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mentes of vertue. For al cognisaunces or Armes either of nobilitie, or of honour, although they be faire and goodlie in shewe, yet when true vertue is away, being false, vaine, and void of al sound fruct, are despised and holden as worthy of no account with euerie wise mā. So that, if ye meane to speake to my rebuke, charge me with some crime or grievous offence, laie not vnto me the name of a priuate man. For before I had the office of a Bishoppe, I was, both for fauour, authoritie, and worshippe, preferred before a great number of your calling. If the name of a priuate man did signifie dulnes or lumpsines of witte, if it did importe any heinouse crime or dishonestie of life: then surely, he that shoulde object that name to me, should reprochfully speake of me, and contrary to my desertes. But for so much as we see oftentimes, that, emongest Princes those mē are in the highest places of honor, which

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which are of al honour most vnworthy, and contrariwise those voide of al honour, whiche could most faithfully and honorably serue their Princes: it cometh to passe, that the name of a priuate man signifieth not the vnworthines of the persons, but the vnluckines of the Princes. For they are so besette and holdē with the seruice of lewd fellows, that thei can not vse the vertue of good men. Now wheras you say, that it is nothing decent, that I being a straunger seperated from you by lande and sea, shoulde write a letter to your Queene: I beseeke you Sir, teache me: were letters deuised to aduertise me of thinges behouesful, in their absence, or in their presence? Doubtlesse in their absence. Whie then do ye blame me, that bearing very hartly good wil vnto your Queene, I admonished her being absent and seperated from me by land and sea, of thinges apperteining vnto the establismente of her estate?

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If I had benne present, I wolde haue humblie besought her, not by letters, but by worde of mowth in presence, that, if she minded to saue her life and mainteine her honour, she should eschew the companie and familiaritie of infamous personnes.

You obiecte also vnto me, that I am not skilled in your affaires. As though I talked not of such matters as are most perfectly knowen of al men.

Last of al you increase the vnworthines of my fact with the name of a Princelie Maiestie : as though your Quene did excel rather in richesse and puissaunce, then in gentlenes and humanitie, and as though I were suche a man as could not by my letters aduertise the greatest Prince in the Christian worlde of things of greatest importance. Acknowledge now, I pray you, your most vnadvised rashnes in this your talke, for thus muche you seme to saie. Whereas you haue neuer

uer had the practise of the Law, neuer borne in any common weale office ( I meane such office as apperteine to me of Law) neuer offered supplications to any Prince: Who hath made you so arrogant and presumptuous, as to take vpon you to speake vnto the Queenes Maiestie, a thing graunted to me al only, and to suche as I am, and that for great good cause? If you perceiue not M. Haddon, howe sonde and childish this your talke is, I must nedes deeme that you are bestraught of your senses. But if it greaueth you to see, that the Quene geueth eare to some other man that is not of your qualitie, I can not blame you. For whie, certaine it is, that you can not long enioy this your felicitie, if many wise and vertuous me shal vnto her good wil and authoritie ioyne their seruice and industrie. For the counterfeicted attendaunce of feined vertue, in the presence of true vertue vanisheth awaie. Wherfore, I  
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geue you counsel to exclude al honest men (of whom, as I vnderstand, there is no smal number in England ) from the familiaritie of the Prince , expel them, thrust them out, by proclamatiōs force them to flee out of the Realme. As for me, that am so farre of, there is no cause whie ye should be greatly careful, for so much as it can not be suspected, that I shoulde take awaie from you your gaines, after which as you shew your selfe, you gape so greedilie. But by your pacience Sir, me thinketh ye are of nature very base and abiecte, that for so meane a promotion take so great stomake and courage. If ye cannot beare so meane a condition, but that you must needes in respecte of your office, laie vnto me the name of a priuate man, what would you doe, if you were called to some higher degree of worshippe?

You saie, that I do goe about to appaire the estimation of lawes, wheras  
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in deede I doe thinke, that the good estate of a common weale standeth and is mainteined by lawes, and am hartily sorie, that through these pestilēt sectes al good lawes, customes and ordinaunces are fallen to ruine and decaie.

You saie that I appeache all the whole Realme of England, I can not rel, of what, hateful newfanglednes: the whiche is also false. For I haue heard of credible personnes, that the greatest part of that Iland doe continue in the Olde Religion.

Now wheras you require of me to beare with you, bicause you haue talked somewhat freelie with me, as being an English mā, fostred and brought vp of the Queenes Maiestie, and of the affaires of England not ignorant: I commend your loue towards your countrie, I commend your loyaltie towards your Prince, I cōmend your knowlege of things gotten by long experience, I cōmend also your freedom in speache.

But

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But beware you doe not (so muche as in you lieth) ouerthrow your Countrey, beware you bring not the Quene into daunger of her estate and life, and when you are pricked and yearked forth with the goades of your owne madnes, beware you cloke not your erroneous beleefe and licentious life vnder the honest name of libertie. Ye promise assuredly that you meane to doe it, for no debate or dissension of minde, whereas there can not be deuised any greater dissension then this, you taking vpon you to mainteine, and I contrariwise to inuey against the most wicked and heinouse malefactours of the worlde.

And where you saie, that your purpose is to pul out of mens heartes certaine false opinions that they haue conceiued of the state of England: if you can so doe, you shal doe me a verie friendly pleasure. But this one thing I meruaile much at, that you say, that my

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writings might happē to cause this false rumor and infamie, that is now bruted of England. What say you Sir? Are you only ignoraunt, how long time it is sence England was firste charged with this infamouse report? How was it possible, when the holie men Iohn Filther Bishop of Rochester, and S. Thomas More were openly put to death for their constancie in their faith and Religion: when the good Religiousse Fathers the Carthusians were with most cruel tormentes slaine and murdered: when the houses of Religion, in the whiche was appointed a mansion or dwelling place of perpetual chastitie, were laid wide open, and turned to prophane vses: when many other monuments of holines were vtterly ouerthrowen and defaced: how was it possible, I saie, that England shoulde be without a very exceding greate infamie? But without cause, saie you. Be it so (if it please you) for I will not

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as yet dispute for either part. Yet this  
much I saie, that euen at that time  
there was a great brand of dishonestie  
burnt into the estimation of English  
men. But you forsooth, that shoulde  
haue defended al those thinges with  
maine pollicie and counsel, were not  
yet come to beare the swaie, and ther-  
fore the matter being destitute of such  
a spokesman as you are, that opinion  
that was by the constant reporte and  
brute of al men diuulged, tooke place  
in al the Realmes of Christendome.  
How is it then true, that I should cause  
this infamie ( which is so olde ) by my  
writings set out but the last daie ?

You commend my kinde of writ-  
ting, the which is more then I require  
of you. For that I vse in matters wel  
known, words not necessarie (as you  
thinke) you reprove me. But your re-  
proch I am nothing offended withal  
for my desire is to talke of thinges most  
clere and plaine, and what were to be

put into my Oration, and what to be put out, I thinke it dependeth of my iudgement, and not of yours, whiche peraduenture knowe not, what my meaning is.

You saie that, whereas I pretended in the beginning to doe some other thing, I fel at the length to taunting and defacing of Religion. That is trew in deede, if most vile and seditious heresie may be called Religion. You say that it is to no purpose for me to goe about to discharge manie English men of the enuie of the facte, for that, (as you saie) their case and cause is al one. And to proue that, you declare the manner of England to be such, that no law bindeth the people there, vnlesse it be first decreed by the whole communaltie, receiued of the nobilitie, approued by the Clergie, and last of al authorised by the King, and therefore can not stand, that a lawe being made by the ful consent and agreemēt  
B of all



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of al, some men should susteine blame,  
 and some others should be altogether  
 void thereof. The law I like wel : But  
 that it is not kept, I thinke it much to be  
 misliked. If the geuing of voices were  
 free, and not wrested and gotten out  
 frō men by threatning and punishmēt,  
 I would like your saing wel. But here  
 to passe ouer with silence the lightnes  
 and inconstancie of the multitude,  
 which may verie easilie be brought to  
 any incōuenience either with the ha-  
 tred of seueritie, either with the shew  
 of gentlenes: and withal to leaue that  
 point vntouched, howe it is a thing  
 impossible for euerie particular man  
 to geaue his voice, but of force they  
 must geue ouer their authoritie of ge-  
 uing voices vnto a few : I would you  
 would teach me this one thing, ( for  
 I confesse plainly, that I am a straun-  
 ger, and nothing expert in matters of  
 your cōmō weale ) what horrible fact  
 had the bishop of Rochester cōmitted,  
 that

that neither the graurie of his person,  
neither the dignitie of a Bishop could  
saue him from death? Went he about  
anie treason against his countrey? Had  
he conspired the death of the Prince?  
Had he entred into talke with foraine  
ennemies to betraie his owne com-  
mon weale? Nothing lesse. But bi-  
cause he most constantlie refused to  
yeeld his consent vnto a wicked sta-  
tute, the holie and innocent man  
was so punished, as though he had  
ben the most detestable traitour in  
the worlde. What had Thomas  
More committed, a verie good man,  
and excellentlie well learned? Had  
he forged the Kinges letters patentess?  
Had he embeseled the Kinges trea-  
sure? Had he kylled or greuously in-  
iured any of the Kinges subiectes?  
No suche matter. But onelie bicause  
he woulde not claw and flatter the  
King, but rather woulde speake his  
mynde freeilie: they chopped of his  
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head before al the people, as though he had ben a fellow or traitour. But now what saie you to the Carthusiás, most vertuouse, godly, and religious Fathers, men in pleading at the barre vnacquainted, in the cōmon affaires and practises of the world vnskilful? Why were thei so cruellie handled? Why were they trussed and hanged vpon gibbets? Whie were they dismembred and quartered in peaces? Whie were they finally burned and cōsumed with fier? dowbtlesse bicause they would not with their voice allow and make good a thing, that vnto them seemed wicked, heinouſe, and vnworthie to be named. What shal I say of the holie bishops, whom you haue lodē with yros fetters and chaines, whom you haue shut vp in darke and close prisons, whom you haue robbed both of goods and honour? Haue you any thing elles to laie to their charge, but that they would not geue their assent to your  
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statutes, which seemed to them vniust? And therefore it is no wonder, if other men being with such cruel and horrible punishments put in extreme feare be not ouer bold to declare their mind freelie in open place . For where the geuing of voices is not free, but forced of men by feare and terrour, there reigneth, not the counsell of the whole, but the lust and outrage of a few. You doe not therefore sufficiently proue , that those lawes were made and allowed by the comon agreement and consent of al states. For it is manifest, that they were violently forced , and that who so euer did gaine saie them , was extremely punished.

As touching my humble suite vnto the Queene, wherein I besought her Maiestie, that, if I were able by good argumēt to proue, that these authours or brochers of newe fanglednes did most daungerously and perniciously erre, it might please her to esteeme and

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hold their doctrine as vngodly and detestable: you say, that it is a false accusation without strength of argument: that it procedeth of stomake, and not of loue towards the trewth: that it is grounded vpon a slander, and not vpon reason: that it is a reproch, and not a disputation laied vpon the groundworke of religion. You require of me the verie same thing, as I required of your Quene: that is to wit, that if you were able to shew, that I had without good cause found fault with the gouernement of your common weale, I should repent me of myne offence.

First of al, I take Christ Iesus to witness (who only knoweth the secrettes of my hart) that I wrote those my letters neither for hatred, neither for displeasure, neither for reproche (as you say) but for earnest good zeale and loue I beare to the trewth and to the welfare of the whole realme. For what haue English men hurt me more  
then

then other men? What wrong or displeasure haue thei done me? Trulie neuer a whit. But contrarie wise I haue ben informed by the letters both of Antonius Augustinus Bishop of Ilerda, a man for his excellēt vertues and singular knowledge in the liberal sciences, wel deseruing the dignitie of a bishop together with immortal fame ( who was sometime sent from the bishop of Rome legat vnto Quene Marie) as also by the letters of Iohn Metellus a Burgonion, a man, whom for his courteous and swete conuersation ioyned with rare giftes of learning I loue verie intierly: that manie great learned men in England did geaue me a verie honourable report. Wherefore there was good caule, whie I should rather loue English men, then malice or reuile them. Neither did I euer thinke to reprocue your common weale; but the corrupt lewdnes of a fewe, which disquieteth the whole realme.

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And

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And whereas you charge me with curiositie for medling in a straunge common weale : I thinke it is no straunge common weale, but myne owne. For I did not reason of the lawes of your Realme and ciuile ordinaunces, but of Christiā religion, for the which I am not afraid to loose my life. And therefore shal I neuer thinke any thing to be impertinent to me, whereby I may mainteine and set foorth the honour of this common weale. Consider now, M. Haddon, how iust your request is. This is your demaund. If you can conuince and manifestly prooue, not that I am in any error (for that were tolerable) but that I wrote my epistle for hatred, euil wil, and reproch: you require of me to confesse my fault and to saie that I was ouer rash, when I tooke vpon me to control your matters, whiche I knew not. Can you on the other side prooue, whereas I meāt louingly, frindly, and religiously,  
that

that it was done slaunderously, enuiously and vnruly? But lest you should say, I deale to straightly with you, this much I promise you faithfully. If you be able to proue, not that I wrote for any euil intent ( for that is impossible ) but that the rearing vp of this your newly framed religion is without all fault and blamelesse, I wil repēt me of my doying. I am not ignorant, how dangerous a matter it is, to promise thus much to a man of law. But because I haue a good affiaunce, that you shal not be able to circumuent me with any malicious and crafty fetch of the law, and my desire is to discharge honest men of slaunderous reportes: I promise you thus much of myne honestie: if you be able to proue, that those felowes be honest, godlie, and religious men, whiche I take to be lewde and wicked verlettes, I will neuer speake one word against you.

You take it in snuffe M. Haddon,  
that



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that I deale so boisteously with your new maisters, saing that I doo oftentimes thunder out against them most horrible and fyerie reproches, yea so much, that mans hart can not deuise any thing more detestable. Wherin I perceiue that you can not well discern, what an argument, and what a reproch is. For I contended not with reprochful woordes, but with argumentes, such as you can not yet answer. Than you saie. *Where are these monsters of Religion? What are they? How long haue they continued? Where are those misshapen felowes to be found?* If you thinke to shift the manifold argumentes which I haue vsed, with such a glittering shew of wordes, you are much deceiued. For I loke for reasons, and not for a vaine noise of wordes. But that, that you bring in vpo this, is a very toy and mockerie. Your woordes be these. *Declare the thinges, name the persones, note the times, adde the circumstances,*

*places, that we may haue some certaintie, wherein to stand with you, as also to withstand you. I thinke, M. Haddon, it was longe, ere you were let to the Rhetorike schole, and that ye were not verie apte to learne it. You would be counted a Rhetorician, and yet you know not that Rhetorique is a prudence or discretion in speaking: so that what so euer is against discretion, is not conuenient in this arte, whiche you went about to learne at an incōuenient time. There is a rule of the law, vsual in iudgemētes, which is this. Whē the questiō is, not of the law, but of the facte, the offence being secrete, we must vse al argumētes and coniectures possible, to bring the truth of the facte to light. For it must be cōsidered, of what conuersation, of what life, of what audacitie the partie arreined was: it must be weyed, what feare, what desire, what enuie, what hatred might moue him to committe the facte: it must be declared,*

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declared, what oportunitie he had, what time, what occasion, what policie to cōceale, what hope to escape, what suspiciō went before, what came after, with all other circumstances, which maie before the iudges increase the suspiciō of the fact. Now sir when your maister (which as it semeth, was but meanelie scene in these matters) had taught you this rule: you thought it wolde serue in al causes, not only in iudgemente, but els where: and therefore you require of me such circumstances as the cause did nothing require. For my meaning was not to accuse any man, but to aduertise the Quene, that she should not suffer her selfe to be brought to any inconuenience. If you or any such as you are were to be arreined, what? should we, in a matter openlie knowen and not denied, but defended to be lawfully done, vse such argumentes, coniectures and circumstances as you require

had, quire? Not so. But it were sufficient  
 t pol- to declare, that your doinges were  
 cape, heinouse and vngodlie. And he that  
 came should otherwise doe, might worthely  
 nces, be laught to scorne as a trifling and a  
 reafe foolish babler. Why then Sir? If you  
 when neither vnderstande what is decent,  
 , was neither consider what the cause requi-  
 tters) reth, neither perceiue the difference  
 ought of thinges: is it meete, that I shoulde  
 nly in be punnished for your ignorance? I  
 ther- thinke not so. But whereas my mea-  
 cum- ning was, not to arreine any man, but  
 g re- only to admonishe your Prince, that  
 o ac- she would put awaie from her selfe  
 e the and her realme the peril that hangeth  
 er her ouer them: could I doo any lesse, but  
 onue- set the greatnes of the daunger before  
 u are her eyes? And bicause the greatest  
 should daunger in the wordle is, to take a  
 n and false religion for a true: I shewed cer-  
 wful- taine markes, by the whiche a man  
 onie- might discerne false and diuelish here-  
 u re- sic, from true and godly religion. Those  
 quire markes,

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markes, if they be false, reprove them: if they be not manifest, conuince me of ignorance: if they offend not you, hold your peace: if vnwares I touched you at the quicke, shew your greefe.

Monsters of Religion I know there are verie manie, if they be not yet come into England, I am glad for your countreis sake: and I confesse I was in an error, when I thought that your Iland had ben pestered with diuers and fundrie kindes of such monsters. But your bare denyal is no sufficient Confutation. You must vse manifest proofes: you must declare by good reason, that I was in an error, and then I will saie, that you are an eloquent felow. But if you cannot doo this, but only prate and talke: I am not bounde to beleue you. A little after ye saie thus. *You crie out against religion, you fight against the setters forth of religion, in these two pointes you vse much bitter talke, and yet in neither of*  
*them*

*them both do you tel vs either what it is,  
or where it is. Sir either you haue not  
read my letters, or if you haue, the  
meaning of them, whiche is verie  
plaine, you vnderstande not (suche is  
peraduēture the dulnes of your witte).  
Could any man set soorth more plain-  
ly with wordes, the infamous doinges  
of men, the great owtrage, and cruell  
impietie of their procedinges? Anon  
after, ye take a peece as it maie appere  
out of some other mā's oration, and set  
it in for your owne, in a place nothing  
to the purpose. these be your wordes.  
This your accusation is verie pitiful, the  
which if I answere but with one woord,  
ther is no remedie, you must needes hold  
your peace. It is euen so, sir, you haue  
made a great speake. The thinges that  
you haue done, the deuises and practi-  
ses that you haue wrought, al was don  
in darkenes and huggermugger. Ther  
are no winesses, ther remaineth no  
foote steps to tracke you out, no signes  
and*

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and tokens by the which a man might come to the knowledge of your doinges. Then you saie thus. *You crie, yea with gaping mouth, and that verie lamentably: that this newly deuised Religio is to be shunned, abandoned, and abhorred, that the begynners of it were mischieuous persons, murderers, cutthrotes, poisoners, ouerthrowers of cōmon weales, enemies of mankind.* Surely this talke that you ascribe vnto me, is yours, and not myne, how be it I am not angry with you for the deuising of it. For such heinouse offenses would be shake vp with much sharper wordes then these be. But sir how answere you these thinges? Full stowtly I warrant you, they can not be denied. Yet thus you saie. *I constantly affirme, that ther is no such thing: I beleene not you, I require to be instructed.* What saie you? What proue you? Oh what an eloquent fellow is this, that cā so easily with one clause or sentence, and that verie short, shut

vp the whole matter? How manfully  
you stand to your defence? How wa-  
rily you kepe out your ennemie? In  
good sooth I can not but muse at your  
folie, to see, vpon how smal occasion  
(when you haue said nothing at all)  
you fall to crying out, as though you  
had vttered some excellent matter. I  
said in that my epistle, that the Virgins  
or Nunnes consecrated vnto God,  
were defiled with incestuous wed-  
locke: I said that the images of Sainets,  
and of the Crosse, yea and of Christ  
him selfe crucified, were pulled out of  
their places, and broken in peaces. I  
said, that the olde Religion was ouer-  
throwne, and a new set vp in the place  
of it. Other thinges I let passe, re-  
seruing them to their conuenient  
places. What saith M. Haddon to  
all this? All these thinges confuteth he,  
like an Oratour, with one word: and  
drinueth me to the wall, that I can goe  
no farther. *I beleue you not*, saith he, *I*

C

require





I praie you, M. Haddon, sobre your selfe a litle, but euen so longe, as you maie peruse againe this your talke. You shall see your selfe, that you were starke madde, when you wrote these thinges. For you vtter suche matter, as neither I, nor you your selfe doo vnderstand.

You saie, that I doo deface my counterfaicte religion with woordes of villanie. I omitte the name of counterfaicte Religion, as though I had ben the authour or begynner of any newe Religion at all. But how should I my selfe deface myne owne Religion, which I doo mainteine and with dew praise set out? This would I faine learne of you.

Then for the personnes, which you saie I sticke, I wold gladly vnderstand what they are. As for Luther with his adherētes and folowers I take them for most wicked and infamous persones,

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and such in dede I doo a litle pricke in my writings. These are the persons, which you saie no man knoweth but I. And you for sooth, know them not: and yet you commend them highly, which is a point of meruelouse great oversight in you to commend such as you know not. But you, will neither saie so, neither can you wel tell, what you wolde saie. Doubtlesse it were better, to be dōme, then to vtter such matter, as no man neither sad nor mad can vnderstand.

You accuse me that I haue defamed your most noble Iland, being thervnto brought by pelting rumours of malicious persones. Whie then, sir, you graunt, that I haue deuised nothing, but what I haue spoken, I was moued to speake by common report. Moreover I haue alreadie declared, that I spake not against the whole Iland, as you saie, but only against the brokers of your new fangled Religion.

Now

Now whereas I said, that heresie and sectes are popular, which is verie daungerous and noisome to Princes, that minde to rule like kinges, (wherin you M. Haddon, find great fault with me) if I prooue it not by good reason, I am content, you shal take me, yea and proclaime me as a slaunderer. But of this we wil talke hereafter.

The mischieuouse practise of poison, wherwith it is reported that certaine Princes haue ben killed, you pource with two examples taken out of your auncient Cronicles. For you saie, that the Emperour Henrie the fourth was made awaie by the treason of a monke, that gaue him the blessed Sacrament infected with poison. You saie also that Iohn king of Englād was by the like man and maner poisoned. I know that both these tales are proued to be slaunderous lyes by good and ap- proued writers. But to my matter, whether it were so or not, it skilleth

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little. Neither did I euer saie, that before Martin Luther there was no man that could I kill in poison, or that besides him ther was neuer ill monke or frier in the wordle. But thus much I said, that when such offences are committed in common weales, by men not so well trained in godlie life: it were expedient, that they were reformed, by the puritie of this your most vnspotted discipline, by the wholesome vertue of your gospell, by the goodlie redresse that your Doctours haue brought to the wordle. The whiche being nothing so, but all together to the contrarie, ( for it is manifeste that within these thirtie yeares last past manie moe conspiracies haue ben wrought against Princes, then in many hundred yeares before ) I maie boldly saie, that the operation of this your medicine is not so effectuell, as you take it to be. Soone after ye saie thus. *But to re-  
herse*

hearse these thinges particularly vnto  
you, is not needful, whiche bringneer  
vnto such mischieses then I am, maie the  
better learne out of your neighbours  
bookes: how often the cuppes of poison  
haue walked amongst the Princes and  
rulers of the Churchie of Rome: and how  
and by whome the sedes of discorde and  
warres haue suffered thorough all the  
common weales of the Christian Domi-  
nion. You are a wonderful fellow Ma-  
Haddon. This obscure and intricate  
maner of speaking liketh you merue-  
lously well. I praie you what woulde  
you saie, when you saie that I am nee-  
rer vnto such mischieses? Meane you  
that I am neerer, as accessarie to such  
faultes? If you saie so (as your wordes  
seeme to importe), you are not well  
acquainted with my manners. If you  
saie, I am of that countrei, wher poi-  
son is oftentimes geuen to Princes in  
meates and drinckes, that is false also.  
For there is no countrey in the worlde,

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where

where the name of a king is more reuerenced then here. If you saie that I am neerer vnto Rome, where such thinges are sometimes vsed, surely you haue not wel learned the situations and distances of countreis. For we are much farder from the citie of Rome then you are. Whereas you saie, that the seedes of warres haue suffered, what your meaning is, I assure you I can not tel. Except peraduenture the printer mistooke, and for this woorde *Dispersa*, put in vnwares *perpeffa*.

As towching the heades or prelates of the Church, whiche were made awaie with poison: I graunt that such wicked actes haue sometimes ben committed. For it chaunceth often, that, where a man wolde least looke for it, there reigneth most the heinouse vices of coueteousnes and ambition: out of the which two fountaines springeth al euils to the destruction of mankind. Yet this I warne you, that it is much looked

looked for, that the redresse of al these euils should procede from your Euan-gelike discipline, which pretendeth in outward shew to make an end of al enormities.

But sir, what is it, that you beare your selfe so holily, so godly, so religiously, yeelding vnto God thanks with so kind and mindful hart, for the benefite of this your Gospel. Thus you saie. *I humbly hold vp my handes vnto the immortal God, thanking him hartily, that it hath pleased him, by the rising of the sonne of his Gospel openly emongest vs, to driue awaie the most depe darkenes of the times past: through the lacke of whose knowledge, and through the assistance of superstition, we walowed before without care in the sinke of vice, beleeuing that by the lead of Bulles, and by the mumbling of praiers not understoode, was purged, what so euer sinne might be committed in this life. What more godlie praier could be deuised*  
than



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than this? You thanke God, that you are deliuered frō most perilous darke-nes, yea and that through the light and shining of the gospel, which was written and set out, not by Matthew, Iohn or any other holy Euangelist, but by Luther, Melānchton, Zwinglius, and suche other worshipful squiers lately dropte out from heauen. And so being deliuered through the benefit of this prosperous and luckie gospel from the stincking dich of al filthines, in the which you wallowed before (as you confesse your selfe) hauing affiaunce in superstitiō: you are now no more subiecte vnto the brandes of fleshly lust: you are no more troubled with ambition: you are not occupied in the troublesome cares of coueteousnes: you are not puffed vp with pride and vaine glorie: you trust no more to fraude, deceit, and lying. For it is like, that hauig receiued the brightnes of heauenly light, ye dispised forthwith al worldly thinges, and were inflamed with the

desire of heauenlie life, yea and (that more is) of the diuine nature it selfe. Who cā deny, if this be so, but that so wonderful an alteration of life doth most manifestly declare the verie presence of Christ him selfe? But I would faine learne this of you, whether you alone in al England, doe enioye these so great benefites, or whether thei be common to al suche, as haue receiued the brightnes of your newe gospel. If you alone haue the fruitiō of this light with so great fruit of the heauēly vertue: the glittering of this newe gospel hath brought no great commoditie to your cōntrei. for it should haue furdered, not any one particular mā, but the whole cōmon weale. Oh say you, euerie one. for as the sonne rising driueth awaie the darkenes from the eyes of al men: euen so the brightnes of this gospel putterh awaie the myste that was cast ouer all mens heartes. Al things are now laid open, al things  
are

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are come to light. Ther are no faultes in the worlde, no wicked offences, no heinouse crimes, no , none at al . Ther is great good cause, if this tale be true, whie we should forsake our owne countrei, and come to dwel in Englād, that we might be partakers of this your felicitie with you . For what could a man desire more of God, then alwaies to behold suche a countrei, where , for the greater part , neither coueteousnes, nor sensualitie , nor hatred , nor pride , nor contention , nor rashnes, nor any other spot of vncleane life may take place. But , Sir, I praie you: What was the let, whie you vsed no iustice or godlines, before this new sonne beames shone vpon you ? Horrible superstition, you saie . for we beleeued , that through the vertue of a peece of lead, and the mumbling of a few praiers , whiche we vnderstoode not , al our offences were forgeauen vs , what soeuer we had done in this world.

worlde . What saie you? is it to be thought you were also mad, that you wolde thinke a sinne conceiued in the hart to be forgeauen through the vertue of a peece of lead , or by the pronouncing of praiers, the mind being otherwise occupied? What a great dulnes of witte was that? what a straunge folie? who had put that error into your hartes? Were there no men emongest you learned in the holie scriptures, to teach you, that al the hope of saluation consisteth in the grace and mercie of Christ? Trulie I hold vp my handes most humbly vnto the immortal God ( as you pretend to doe ) yeelding him most hartie thākes, that it was my chaunce to be borne and brought vp in Spaigne , where no man (if he be a Christian) was euer so foolish as to thinke , that there is any other waie to pource synne , but only by the grace and goodnes of Christ. The which to attein , the necessarie  
and

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and onely meane is according to the doctrine of Christ him selfe, to detest and forsake vice, to confesse our sinnes comitted with bashfulnes and sorow, to withdraw our selues from sensualitie to continencie, from vice to honestie, from malice to charitie, to enter into a new trade of life, and to exercise our selues in holy workes. Now sir, of you trusted so much to lead, that ye thought it of force to blot out sinne: you were not wel in your wit. If you saie that al England was in the like blindnes, you bring a great slaunder of madnes vpon your countrie, that hath brought you vp and placed you in so great worship. No, say you, I saie not so. But I meane by the name of lead, in the whiche we saw the name and image of the bishop of Rome engraued, the authoritie and iurisdiction of the Pope him selfe, the which manie hundred yeres agoe, was holden and esteemed as a thing verie holie, of our Fathers and  
after-

afterward of vs. This authoritie, which we sometime reuerenced, being now instructed by the most cleere doctrine of this gospel, I doe neglecte, despise, contemne, and thinke it to be esteemed as a thing of naught of all wise men. Whie then, M. Haddon, what needed you the name of lead to signifie this authoritie? Did you it, to make it more odious? Or rather thought you by iesting at the woord to gette the greater applause of your companions? For I knowe, that pleasaunt sporters, as you be, are muche delighted with iesting, and like to contend not so much with argumentes and sentences, as with scoffing, and (as it seemeth to me) with an vnfaerie kind of pratling. In suche like scoffes and tauntes Martine Luther your youthlie Patriarke and olde wanton was a great doer. And I dowbt not but some of your clawebackes, when he came to this place

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place, tooke vp a great laughter, and bound it with an oth, that it was meruelous pleasauntly spoken, and excellently wel handled. For al thinges are so farre out of course and dew order, that it is a verie easie matter for a sawcie reprochful scoffer, to get the name of a merie felowe and pleasaunt companion.

The Monarchie  
of the  
Church.

But as concerning this matter, although the Bishop of Angra hath disputed verie learnedly of the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome: yet wil I reason with you (as with a seculare man and ciuilian) of the said matter in few wordes. First of al let this be a groundeworke or foundation. The Church of Christ is one and not manie. Then let this be agreed vpon. It is not ynough for a Prince, whiche maketh lawes to establish a common weale, to set them out, except he also appoint gouernours and inferiour magistrates. Let this also be the third ground,

ground. ( for so much as you like wel  
myne opinion as touching the order of  
a Monarchie ) that it is most expedient  
for a common Weale well appointed  
with customes and lawes, to be vnder  
the rule of one Prince. For many doe  
teare and dismembre a cōmon weale,  
but one by supreme authoritie vniterh  
and as it were with glew, ioineth toge-  
ther the heartes of the people. It was  
therfore most agreable to the best ma-  
ner of gouernement, when the Prince  
of al Princes ( vnder whose euerlasting  
Empire are subiected both heauen and  
earth ) intended to set vp a heauenlie  
cōmon weale in earth : that he should  
first make Lawes, and then creat Prin-  
ces and Magistrates, which might ac-  
cording to the prescribed order of  
Lawes and equitie , rule this common  
weale. Suche were the Apostles and  
the rest of the Disciples of Christe .  
Last of al , lest the band of this societie  
might be dissolued , and the peace of  
D the



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the Citie distourbed: he appointed a Monarchie, and gaue the supreme gouernement thereof vnto Peter. Are not these thinges commonly knowen of all men? Ymagine you to obscure and darken thinges most clearely spoken? Trust you so muche to your malice, that you thinke your selfe able to wrest the wordes of the Gospell from the true meaning, to serue the filthie appetite and lust of you and your companions? I pray you what can be spoken more plainely and cleerelie then those woordes? Thou arte Peter, saith Christ, and vpon this rocke I wil build my Church. And what so euer thou shalt bind vpon the earth, it shalbe bound in heauen. And againe. I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not, and thou being turned, confirme thy brethren. And many other places of like effect, which do manifestly proue, that Peter had a Prerogatiue about the rest of the Apostles. But you wil saie for al this

Mat. 16. c.

Luc. 22. d.

this, that these testimonies of the holy scriptures, which we haue alleged, are expounded farre otherwise of the new Apostles. I wil set against the authoritie of your Apostles, the authoritie of S. Ambrose, Augustine, Hierome, Basile and all other holie men, that haue with their writings geuen light to the Church of Christ. But now your Doctours wil answere, that although it be true that the supreme authoritie was graunted to Peter, yet soloweth it not, that it was geuen to his successours also. Why then I aske you an other question. Did Christe set vp a Church to continue but for one mans life? Or els minded he to establish it for euer? If he appointed, that his Church should stande so little time, he didde not so great a thing, as was to be looked for of his infinite bountie and wisedome: for so muche as he bestowed so much labour and diligence, yea and shedde so muche bloud about a cōmon weale,

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whose cōtinuance was limited within the bounds of so short time. If he minded that his church should cōtinue for euer: then doubtlesse he set it in such order, as should in al chaunges and alterations of times be mainteined and kept. If it be then euident (as it is most euident and plaine) that Peter had a Superioritie ouer the rest of the Apostles: it must needes folowe, that the same preeminence or principalitie, of right apperteineth to al sucche as haue succeeded in Peters roome and charge. Or els, in the Church of Christ, which is one, it might seeme there was ordeined not the order of the heauēly Monarchie, but the gouernement of manie. And then what knot or band of concord were there in the Church? By whose authoritie shoulde the tempestes risen in it be asswaged? By whome should seditious opinions and sects be rooted out? By whom should pride and stubbornes be restrained and kept

kept vnder : if theré had ben no man appointed in the Church from the beginning , by whose authoritie all men should be kept in order ? Nowe for so much as the church of Christ is simple and one: and one it can not be, vnlesse there be in it one only Prince: furthermore being euidente and plaine , that Christ ordeined one onely ruler in his Church, whom al men should acknowledge and obeie : finally being out of al doubt, that this preeminence apperteineth to the Successours of Peter, and that none of al the aũcient Fathers endewed with the spirit and grace of God euer doubted, but that the bishops of Rome were the successours of Peter (as bothe their writings , and the common agreement of the vniuersall Church declareth): with what sprite were your newe Apostles moued to bring in this new Gospellish doctrine, to distourbe the order appointed by Christe, to breake the bande of vnitie

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and concord, to shake the very Rocke and staie of the Church.

But lest some man shuld thinke, that these thinges were wrought of them without any cause in the world, I wil briefly declare, what their deuise, or rather what the fetch of Satā was in this enterprise. It was vnpossible that euer the pestilēt sects should gather any strēgth, except the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome had ben first weakned. For how could the mischieuous weede haue growen any long time, whereas it was a very easy matter with the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, forthwith to cut it doune, so soone as it appeared aboue the ground. Take vs (saith the spouse of

*Cant. 2. d.* Christ) the litle foxes, that destroy the Vineyardes. This request of the spouse who shalbe able to fulfil, if noman haue authoritie to suppress the malice and lewdnes of heretikes, before it waxe great? For it is manifest that by the foxes are vnderstode heretikes. And therefore

fore S. Paul in his second epistle to the Thessaloniās saith, that Antichrist shal not come before the great reuoltig or departure frō the catholike Church of Christ. It is therefor necessari for these yong Antichrists, which (as S. Iohn saith) do in figure and significatiō represent the great Antichriste to come, before they can bring their purposed mischief to passe, not only to depart themselves frō the Church, and from the supreme ruler of it, but also to sollicite and procure to the like departure all such as they mind to carie away, and make their disciples: and this is the cause that al heretikes, whose chiefe endeavour and principal intent is to ouerthrowe the catholike Church, do first of al assault this fortresse, do here plant their ordinaunce, doo here make their battery, do here vndermine to ouerrhrowe the forte. For they see, that if this fortresse were once ouerthrowen and wonne, they may frely sow the seedes

2. Thessal.  
2. b.

## THE FIRST

of al naughtines, and to the ruine and  
decaie of manie, flee vppe and downe  
through the worlde, whether so euer  
thei list, without any cōtrol or checke.  
And to passe ouer the olde Heretikes,  
this was the cause whie Husse ende-  
uoured to ouerthrow the authority of  
the Bilhop of Rome This was also the  
meaning of Hierome of Prage, when  
he went about to weaken the authori-  
ty of the said bilhop This was the way,  
by the which Frier Luther thought vt-  
terly to destroy the Catholike church.  
This was the traine, by the whiche in  
Englā a gap was vnaduisedly opened  
to al suche errours, as sence that time  
haue followed. Nōwe the railes and  
barres being after this manner broken  
downe, and the gates laid wide open, it  
was a very easie matter for al vile and  
desperate felowes to rush in, to mangle  
and teare in peeces the vnitie of the  
Churche, to bring in so many wicked  
errours, suche horrible sectes, suche a  
rable

nable of pestilent opinions, one directly  
against an other. The Zwinglians fight  
against the Lutheriāns. The Anabaptists  
kepe continual warre with the Zwin-  
glians. What should I here reherse the  
heretikes called heavenly Prophetes,  
the Interimnists, and such other names  
of sectaries? What should I saie of the  
hatred, malice, brawling, and discorde  
within them selues? What shoulde I  
speake of their variety and incōstancy  
in opiniōs? Yea and such as are of one  
sect, are not al, nor alwaies of one opi-  
nion. Many points of their Doctrine  
they correct, they alter and chaunge,  
they turne in and out, they blot out the  
old, they make newe, nowe they pull  
downe, and now they set vp, they can  
not wel agree neither with other men,  
nor yet with them selues. What saye  
you to this Sir? Are not these thinges  
true? Can you saie, that al such as are  
sprōg of Martine Luther, are through-  
ly agreed? that there is emōgest them

no



## THE FIRST

no debate, no discorde, no diuersitie of opinions, but contrarily moste perfect agreement in matters of faith and religion? O M.Haddon how much better had it benne to reuerence that peece of lead, whiche you so much scorne at, then to open a way to so many, yea and those so pestilent errors? But let vs returne to your Oration. These are your wordes.

*But the authority of the holy Scriptures hath thundred in our eares, and hath made vs so affraid, that casting awaie the deuises of men, we runne onely to the free mercie of God.* What is this? Do you so requite Luther, to whome you are bound for this singular benefite? For it was he that draue all feare out of your hartes. What terrour is this that you speake of? What feare? What carefulnesse of minde? Suche is the faith, that Luther deuised, as being once well planted in your hearte, no feare in the worlde shall euer be able

to

to shake the quietnes and securitie of  
your conscience. And, me thinketh,  
that it is not to be borne, that you saie,  
you doe despise the deuises of men.  
For you are not so farre forewarde in  
the waie of heauenly life, but that you  
make good accompte of some men.  
For the diuises of Luther, Zwinglius,  
Bucer, Caluin, and such other as were  
the founders of this your new cōmon  
weal, you haue learned them, you haue  
greedily snatched them vppe, yea you  
haue with heart and minde embraced  
them, striuinge within your selues,  
who shoulde be foremoste in them,  
finallie you haue decreed to frame the  
order of your life after their directi-  
on. Whereby we gather, you looke  
not so steddilie to heauenwarde, but  
that sometimes you looke downe  
vppon menne. And well donne  
too surelie. For righte and reason  
requireth, that you shoulde alwaies  
haue bothe in your eyes and hearres  
such

## THE FIRST

suche men as they were, so chaste, so holie, and so religious. But yea this muche I tel you by the waie, your minde was not so feruently inflamed with the loue of heauenly thinges, but that you did highly esteeme some men withal. Admitte that Frier Luther had ben a holie man (euen as holie as you list to make him) that Melanchon had ben void of al earthlie affection: that Zuinglius for the meruelouse reporte of sincere and chaste life had ben admitted to be one of Gods owne priuie counsell: that Bucer had excelled al men in cleane, honest, and chaste conuersation: that Caluine had passed in vertue and holines Bernarde, Anselme, Augustine, Ierome, Basile, and al other holy men, that haue lead an angelike life here vpon the earth: yea adde vnto these (if it please you) euen your owne Martyr, whose rare vertue you commend so highly: Admitte I saie, that these men had ben most excellently

lently furnished with al the highest  
vertues, yea and most chaste withal:  
yet were they men, and it is not im-  
possible, but that they might haue ben  
in some errours. And yet doo you e-  
steeme their lawes, decrees, and ordi-  
nances, as a discipline of moste high  
wisedom, and as a most holie rule of  
mans life. With what face then saie  
you, that you despised, and reiected  
the deuises of men, whereas you doo  
ascribe vnto those menne that I haue  
here named, almoste a diuine perfecti-  
on? But now let vs consider the ende  
of your oration. Soone after you bring  
in this clause. *Hauiing in like manner  
regarde vnto the saying of the Prophete,  
where he commaundeth vs, that wee  
should confourme the innocencie of our  
life vnto holinesse and iustice.* In this  
place I merueiled exceedingly, not at  
you, M. Haddon (for it is not credi-  
ble, that so graue a man as you be,  
should lie so impudently) but at the  
slau-

## THE FIRST

flaunderous report of men, which with  
 feined tales, and forged cōplaintes (ab-  
 using vs being straungers, and ignorāt  
 (as you say) of your affaires haue made  
 vs belecue that you conforme you  
 selues, not vnto holines of life by the  
 law of God, but vnto licentious lewd-  
 nes through vnbridled luste and bolde  
 presumption. And the doctrine of that  
 mad felowe Martine Luther made it  
 seeme the more probable, the whiche  
 cōdemning wickedly al good workes,  
 and burning at a sermō the Canōs and  
 holie ordinaunces of the Church, and  
 teaching for a sownd doctrin this pre-  
 sumptuous assaunce, vnto the which  
 alone he ascribeth saluation, calling it  
 rashly and impudently by the name of  
 faithe, and putting quitte out of mens  
 hartes al feare of lawes bothe of God  
 and man, setteth out sensualitie in her  
 ful strength and force, geaueth fleshlie  
 lust free scope and libertie, pretendeth  
 hoope of impunitie, boldeneth men to

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h with al synne and wickednes. Wherefore I  
es(ab- thought it impossible, that a man obser  
gnorat uing his preceptes, should withal geue  
made his mind to iustice, vertue and religiō,  
e you or take great care how to keepe him  
by the selfe chaste and honest. For it is the part  
lewd- of a wise man, when he seeth the cause  
bolde to doubt nothing of the euent. And it  
f that is commonly seene, that naughtie be-  
ade it gynnings haue the like ending. What  
hiche should I then do? Seing iust cause of in-  
orkes, famie, hearing it most commonly, yea  
s and and sadly reported, that you are in  
and farre worse case, then you pretende to  
pre- be: weying withal the constant fame,  
hich which is, that such as folowe this new  
ing it religion, are not only subiect to fleshly  
ne of and vncleane liuing, but also much in-  
mens creased in al wicked and heinouise vi-  
God ces: should I not beleue it? Should  
a her I stande against moſte credible per-  
shlie sonnes reporting it? Should I without  
deth any groūd, without witnesses, vainely  
n to contend, seing the cōmon agreement  
al of

## THE FIRST

of al men confirming this opinion? I could not doe it. Wherefore if that be false, whiche was constantly and not without inward sorow of al good men reported, you must pardon me, and lay the fault vnto the lightnes and impudencie of certaine men bearing you no good wil, whiche were the deuisers of this false report. But if it be true that is reported, then are you a very madde man, if you thinke by lying and facing to wash out the spot of true infamie.

Here you muse againe what I meane to aduertise your Queene, to beware of suche as are infected with these heresies. And here I tel you againe, that, when I come to that place, I wil doo my endeouour so to handle it, that you shal no more muse at it.

You declare vnto me the felicitie of your Quene, that she aboundeth in riches, that she liueth in prosperitie, that she feareth no treason, neither of her owne subiectes, neither of foreigners.

ners. I am right glad of it, and I pray  
God graunt her alwaies a good, pro-  
sperous and flourishing reigne. Yet is  
it the part of a wise Prince, in calme  
weather to thinke of a storme, and to  
consider long time before, not when  
the mariners them selues begynne to  
tremble and quake, howe to saue her  
selfe: and seing with what tempestes  
the maiestie of other Princes hath ben  
ruffled in diuers and sundrie realmes,  
to mistrust, that her maiestie also maie  
experience the like fortune. Of the  
tempest in Fraunce, the which you say  
is asswaged, I saie nothing elles, but  
that you beare witnesse against your  
owne selfe. For, I praie you Sir, who  
stirred vp that tempest? Who armed  
the Frenche men against the King of  
Fraunce? What discipline or instructi-  
on had they, whiche contrary to their  
oth taken in the face of the worlde,  
contrarie to theyr allegiaunce to-  
wards their Prince, finallie contrarie

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bellion in  
Fraunce,

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## THE FIRST.

to the maiestie and reuerence of king-ly name, set them selues in armour against the Kings owne person, not on-ly traiterously and villanously to dis- patch the King out of his life, but also to abolish the name of a King vtterly out of the common weale? And you say, the tempest is asswaged. As though I had said that, what so euer such trai- tors had most wickedly and rebelliously deuised, must nedes haue a prosperous succeffe. No, no. Their wicked attempt was repressed by policie and force, and especially by the great grace and be- nefite of God: it is nothing long of the, that (like rebelles) made warre against their prince. For to haue brought their purpose to a mischieuous ende, there lacked not in them any good wil, but strength and power.

My discourse of the contempte of wordly thinges and desire of heauenly things you mislike not: but you are mad angry with me, bicause I cal such men

ene-

enemies of Religion, as you saie were the seruañtes of God, and sent frō heauen for the saluation of the world: and it greaueth you, that I should laugh at their vaine and folish attēpts. Tel me I pray you Sir, what take those felowes vpō them, which were sent, as you say from heauē? Doubtles, to deliuer Christian men from errour, throughly to purge the Church, to restore the doctrine and rule of the Apostles life, to set the truth at libertie, whiche was, as you say, oppressed with coueteousnes and ambitiō, to pul dreames and superstitiō out of mēs harts. I said this was a great vaūt. But Sir, this kingdō of God which they tooke vpō thē to maintein: this glorie of God, for the which they haue entred into so gret a cōfliēt, doth it cōsist in words oly, or in the workīg of vertue? Surely if we beleue S. Paul, it stādeth in the strēgh and cōstant working of vertue: wherfor if they mind to proue themselues honest mē, let them

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restore the old modestie, humilitie, patience, meekenes, obediēce, chastitie, puritie, innocentie, the chastising of the bodie, the continual warre bothe against the tyrannie of the flesh, as also against al other vices: let them restore that earnest loue and seruient charitie, that continual meditation of heauenly thinges, that godly exercise of praier vnto God both day and night for the prosperous estate and saluation of al men: Let them take vp the crosse on their shoulders, and crucifie al vncleanes of synnes: let them forsake al pleasures of the world: let them pul vp by the roote the very stringes of carnalitie: finally let them mortifie al the vnbridled passions of their willes: that nothinge liue in them, but the power and wil of Christe, and then wil we beleue, that they haue fulfilled their promise, and quitte them selues like true men of their worde. But if they haue done no suche thing, but rather  
by

by their examples of life and doctrine haue brought to passe, that men liue more frely in al kind of vice, that they are the readier to commit sacrilege, that they are the bolder to venter vpo any vile, and heinousse offence, that they are the fierfer and creweller (yea more desperat then any mans hart can thinke) to doe villanie and violence to their Princes, for whose safetie they ought to hazard their owne liues: if they forgetting Religion bend them selues wholly against religion: is it not plaine, that they are not onely to be scorned and laughed at, but also to be abhorred, and detested as the most horrible and crewel pestilence of a common weale?

*Wel wel, saie you, I perceine at the length, what this your new sect is, against the which you haue so sharply whetted your eloquence. Oh what a pleasure you haue to speake doubtfully and obscurely? What saie you M. Haddon?*

E iij Saie

## THE FIRST.

Say you that you do at lēgth vnderstād,  
what my new secte is? Say you that I  
do maintein any newfangled sect? that  
I do allow their wicked actes, which I  
accurse and detest? That I am fallen frō  
the faith and Religion of the holy Ca-  
tholike Church? And then how stand  
these thigs together, that I should whet  
my eloquēce against that secte, which  
(as you sai) I folow my self? Moreouer,  
by what argumēt cā you proue it? You  
haue peradueture heard saie, that I was  
a voluptuous mā, geuen to pleasure and  
vncleanes of life, desirous of nouelties,  
hastie and headlong to make sedition,  
debate and discord emōgest men. And  
therfore you thinke peraduenture, that  
I am entāgled with the like detestable  
vices, as your Maisters are. But cōsider,  
I pray you, how these thinges, that fol-  
low, may stād together with this your  
most impudēt suspition. *At the length,*  
*say you, I see the aduersaries, whom you*  
*would haue to be cut of from the Quenes*  
*maiestie,*

*maiestie, and driuen out as the corrupters of the whole realme. Whie then, if you see, that I am earnestly bent against all such as are the brochers of new fangled sectes: if you say plainly, that I would, they should be driuen farre frō the presence and familiaritie of the Queene, that they should be bānished out of the boundes of England: doubtles, neyther do these innouations like mee, neither do I allow their wicked doinges. But how do you defend them your selfe? I am, say you, of a cōtrary opinion. These professours of the Gospel are the seruantes of God, sent vs from heauen, to awake our sleapines in these daungerous times of the worlde growing now to olde age, and to stirre vp our slownes. These are wōderful matters that you say, if slepines may be awaked, or slownes stirred vp. So may feare beare it selfe hardily, and the pleasure of the bodie restreine vice and vncleanes of life, and mad rashnes wel and wisely gouern a cōmon weal.*

E iiii

Then

## THE FIRST

Then it foloweth. *They were sent from heauē to cōfute error, to reprove impiety: and therefore they are to be sought out of the Quenes Maiessty, and to be much made of in al the cōmon weale.* When ye spake these wordes, you thought to reprove me of lightnes, for beleuing otherwise, of presumption, for writing vnto the Quene. You say furthermore, that it is not necessarie to discusse particularlie euerie point of my accusation, but on-ly to gather them, as it were into cer-taine heades, and so briefely to runne them ouer. Then you add these words. *I wil, if I can, put backe the very hornes of your accusation.* I woulde faine see with what manhood and strength you wil beginne the matter. It foloweth. *First of al, you saie we must consider the persones, bicause they promise nobly, and we must weie, whether they be of habili- tie to performe it, whether they haue so muche vertue and holinesse as they pre- tend.* This would I faine see. But for  
so

so much as, this holinesse, which you  
speake of, must be declared in workes,  
not craked of in woordes ( for so doth  
Christe teache vs to discerne the true  
prophetes from the false by the fruite  
of workes, not by the bragge or vaunt  
of wordes) I looke you shoulde shewe  
me the miracles that these holie men  
haue wrought: the which being de-  
clared, you shall be the better able to  
put backe the hornes of my disputati-  
on. For of the woordes I am nothing  
affraid, the whiche in apparence are  
merueilous goodly and gaye. And this,  
I warrant you, is the first lewde point  
in al Heretiques, to cloke their wilie  
trappes with most holie wordes. For  
by what other meanes might they al-  
lure the mindes of the simple people,  
but only by a feined shew of holinesse  
and innocencie? For vertue naturally  
inuitheth and draweth al men vnto her.  
The whiche thing these subtile and  
craftie fellowes knowing wel enough,  
they

*Math. 7. 16.*

*The vvi  
lines of  
heretikes*



## THE FIRST

they do on the habit of vertue, the sooner therby to creepe into the bosomes and hearts of vnlearned folkes. For as the fowlers deceiue the birdes: either with some bait, or els with instrumēt resembling the voice and tune of the birds: euē so do your doctors by setting out the gase of cōūterfeit holines, they bring vnto their snares the simple people, where vnwares and suspecting no deceit, thei are takē. For open dishonesty could do litle harme, (being of herself very foul and deformed to behold) except she did beare the cōūtenāce or face of honesty and innocēcy. But seel pray you, what pollicy these plausible and good felowes haue foūd out to stir vp the cōmon people. We were al sorry to see the maners of mē corrupted, the streightnes of old disciplin relēted, the Priests wallowing in vnclean life, and abusing their dignity immoderately to gaine and lucker. Nowe, as it happened sometimes in the Citie of Rome,

the

the furious Tribunes of the peple, whē the like occasiō was offred thē, to stirr vp the cōmons against the nobility, did not let it passe, but the enuy which was already to much kendled, thei made to burn, putting vnderneath, the fierbrāds of their troblesom ād seditious oratiōs : in like maner these most holy persons, whom you cōmend so highly, whē thei saw into how great hatred the church men were come: thei thought to vse al meanes possible in the world to bring them into farder hatred and displeasure. And so, what by finding fault with thē, and what by putting the peple in hope of a better world, they shewed themselves as ringleaders in this seditiō and fallig frō the church. And the better to bring their purpose to passe, they vsed many goodly and hōly words, bearing men in hād, that thei wold expresse the holy life, not of the Sainctes that came neere after the Apostles rule (for of thē they made none accompte) but of the Apostles

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Apostles them selues. And so they had alwaies in their mowthes, Christian pietie, the puritie of the Gospell, the holines of most chaste Religion, a heauenlie discipline, the which to disteine with any deuises or superstitions (as they terme it) of man, they tooke it to be a most heinouse offence. After that they brought all men into great hope and expectation, that the very perfection of the Primitiue Church should by their diligence be restored, and that the wonderful gifts of the holy Ghost, which now were thought to be starke deade, shoulde be reuiued ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> life. This goodly beginning how plausible it wasto the worlde, euery man may iudge. But naughtines can neuer stay long in one degree: but when it hath once begonne to slide, it ruffheth forward, and fallerh downe headlong. To gette therefore the greater fauour emongest the people, what so euer seemed to them any thing rough or vnplea-

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vnpleasant, they tooke it quite awaie. To confesse their sinnes, was very troublesome: to punish their bodie with fasting, was painful: to be tyed with the bande of Excommunication, was a vexation of minde: to be shaken with the threatninges of Gods iudgement, was bitter. They did therefore most earnestly endeouour themselves, to take al such cares out of mens hartes. Wherefore it is no wonder, if the simple people, being partlie offended with the misliuing of the Church men (whiche all the worlde talked of) and partlie brought into great hope of a golden worlde and most pleasant libertie, did willingly applie them selues to the fantasie of those men, by whom thei surely trusted to be deliuered from al euils, and to haue the fruition of all felicitie and pleasure. But when the fury of the cōmon people was nowe armed with this cōunterfeit shew of Religion (good Christ) how garishly these your holie men

## THE FIRST

men ranne to the spoile of the Churches? What greates slaughters of men they made? What a great alteration of thinges folowed by and by, with the decaie of al, Godlines? And yet you Mr. Haddon make them equal with Athanasius, Basile, Ambrose, Ierome, and Angustine. If they are to be tried by their workes, as Christ teacheth, who are truly sent from God, and on the other side, who are pricked forward of the diuel to do mischief: if I can see no holie works that your prophetes haue done: if you your selfe can not declare any excellēt vertues in them: if you can bring no holie woorkes for proufe of their heauenlie vertue: what cometh into your minde, to compare men for chastitie of life most cleane, for godly religion most holie, for authoritie of sentences moste graue, with them, whom all the worlde knoweth to be, for filthines of life infamous, for their vngodlie attēptes Churchrobbers, for  
their

their vndiscret lawes and ordināces, frā  
 tikād mad mē. But it is worthwhile to  
 cōsider how you proue it: thus you sai.  
*Neither shew you any thīg, why thei may  
 not be equal with the auncient Fathers.*  
 Yes surely, I wil shew something, and  
 shew wihal, how shamelesse you are,  
 which compare vnbridled fleshlineffe,  
 with cleannesse of life, impietie with  
 godlynes, raiging madnes with godly  
 wisedom. Then you saie.

*But I wil bring you away from these  
 odious comparisons, for this is no place to  
 reason these matters.* Yes M. Haddon, I  
 wil be so bold as to reason with you. If  
 this be true, that in geuīg of cōūsel the  
 manners and behauiour of the geuer,  
 is to be weied, and that nothing indu-  
 ceth vs more to credit the cōūsel geue,  
 then the tried honesty of the person: I  
 say plailly, that it is a questiō worthy to  
 be asked, of what maners and cōuerfa-  
 tiō thei are, that giue vs cōūsel to folow  
 their opinion, You say afterward. *I wil  
 uphold*

## THE FIRST

uphold that our Doctours doe agree with the reuerende Fathers, that they take the verie same way that they did, that they teach in effecte the selfe same religion. I would you were able to defende, that the auncient fathers and your doctours were wel agreed. Then it followeth. *The* Whiche if it be true, it booteth not to make comparison between such as are alone. If it be not so, tel vs where in they disagree. You say wel, if it be so. But before I begynne to declare, how much the auncient Fathers dissented from your new maisters, I wil tarie a litle to see howe you can proue this goodlie agreement. *S. Augustine*, saie you, *complaineth in his time, that floudes of ceremonies overflowed the Church, in so much that the Christians were almost in worse case, then euer were the Iewes.* You neuer read that in *S. Augustine*, that the Ceremonies, whiche we now vse, are like to the Iewish ceremonies, and therefore to be reiecte:

but

but your maisters haue brought you like an ignorant felowe to belecue it. *S. Hierome*, saie you, *wisheth that the holie scriptures, which your Church hideth frō al men, might be learned without the booke, euen of children and women.* S. Ierome writing to Paulinus, disputeth to the contrarie, where he complaineth of the rashnes and boldhardines of men, which tooke vpon them without any good witte or vertue to handle the Scriptures with to much libertie: and of the vndiscrete chattering of foolish women, which taking vpon them to expounde Scriptures, defined manie thinges verie vndaduisedly. It foloweth. *Basile imploied his vacant time in the most godlie exercise of reading and teaching diuinitie.* It was wel don truly. for Basile was none of them that take vpon them arrogantly to teache doctrine that they neuer learned. Then you adde these wordes.

*If Monkes had leued according to*

*F the*



## THE FIRST

*the rules of Basile, no man would euer haue touched them with so much as his finger. As though your quarel had ben against men, and not against chastitie it selfe. But admit that their manners were loose, their behauiour dissolute, their life wanton. What then? was there none emōgest them al, that kept their chastitie? There were without doubt. And that the loue of cleane, and chaste life was not vtterly decaied amongest monkes, the end of the holie fathers the Carthusians declared full wel, who, if thei would haue yeelded their cōsent to the wicked decrees, needed neuer to haue suffered other punishment but only to be married. It was not therefore the misliking of filthie pleasure, that stirred you to such barbarous crueltie, but the hatred of chastitie and virginitie. And I know wel, that not only thei were chaste and perfect men, but also many other that are now bannished among vs: the which*  
wher-

wherſoeuer they ſet their ſoote , they  
leauē behind them moſt manifeſt foot-  
ſteppes of baſhfulnes and honeſty. But  
admit that the greater part of them had  
ben drowned in vice: was it therefore  
good reaſon by and by , to ouerthrow  
the whol order? How much had it ben  
more for your honeſty, to haue don as  
the moſt uiſſaunt King Fernandus did  
ſometime in Spaigne and Elizabeth his  
wiſe, a Princeſſe cōſecrated to euerla-  
ſting fame? as the moſt honorable king  
and renoumed Prince Emanuel : as  
Iohn the third his ſonne, a King for his  
religion and godlines worthy of moſt  
high cōmendation: as Charles the fifth  
an emperour born to immortal glorie:  
as Euricus the Cardinal ſonne of king  
Emanuel, in whom ſhineth a wōderful  
light of al-vertue and holines: finally as  
all other moſte religious Princes did :  
who ſeing the manners of monkes to  
tende towardes a niceneſſe , ſent for  
certaine perfectē religious menne, by

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whose diligence their vnbridled affection and licentiousnes was tied vp, their loose manners by streighter discipline restrained, and their sleapie mindes styrred vp to the most feruent loue of godlines. And so there are now emongest vs most holie and religious Monkes, whiche folow Basile, Benet, and Bernarde, and Dominique, and Frauncis, in the puritie of most chaste religion, in most earnest and zealous loue of God, in most notable examples of al vertue. Whie then would you rather cut of that, that might haue ben healed? Bicause, as I said a litle before, it was not anie displeasure toward filthie lust or life, but the hatred of perpetual chastitie, that styrred you to deface and vtterlie to ouerthrow the name of Mounkes. For (as S. Hierome saith) all Heretiques haue a naturall hatred and grudge against chastitie. Wherefore there is no doubt, but that, if your Mounkes had liued

Heretiks  
enemies  
to chastitie.

according to the rules of S. Basile: the greater their perfection had ben, the more displeasure and hatred you wold haue born them. Afterward you bring in these wordes.

*We reuerence the Crede of Athanasius as it ought to be, neither is there any controuersie betwene them and vs.*

What great discorde there is betwene your menne and Athanasius, I haue partely declared in that my letter, whiche you so muche reuile. Neither skilleth it muche, whether you be agreed in some pointes yea or no. For I neuer saide, that your Champions dissented from the opinion of the holie Fathers in al matters. But to what end tendeth al this talke? what would you prooue? For sooth, that Luther, Bucer, Zwinglius, Oecolampadius, Caluine and other the Ministers of this your gospel, are in vertue, holines, chastitie, and religion, nothing inferiour to S. Augustine, Hie-

F iij      rome,

## THE FIRST

rome, Basile, and Athanasius and other  
holie Fathers, whose writings seeme  
to send forth the verie swete sauour of  
the holie ghost. But how do you proue  
it? *S. Augustine* you say, *cōplaineth, that*  
*Whole fouldes of ceremonies ouerflowed*  
*the Church: S. Ierome thought it expe-*  
*dient, that Women and children should*  
*learne the scriptures without the booke:*  
*If Monkes liued according to the rule of*  
*S. Basile, no man woulde once laie his fin-*  
*ger on them: and we reuerēce the Crede*  
*of Athanasius.* What then? Can you  
proue by these propositions, that Lu-  
ther and Bucer, and the rest of your  
Worthies are to be compared with S.  
Augustine, Ierome, Basile, Athanasius  
in vertue, cōstancie, chastitie, cleanes  
of life, religion and wisdom? A good-  
lie pregnāt wit of a yong Logician: he  
shaketh out his argumentes so fearfully,  
that he maketh them fitte to cōclude,  
what so euer him listeth to prooue.  
Let this fourme of reasoning be once  
recei-

receiued, and what thing is ther in the worlde so muche contrarie to al reason, that maie not easily be prooued? As if we should saie for example: Mahumete saith, that God created the worlde. S. Basile holdeth the same. Basile therefore and Mahumete are moste like in godlie life. Arius confessed, that Christ shed his bloud for the redemption of mankinde. Athanasius affirmeth the same. *Ergo*, Arius shined in vertuouse conuersation no lesse then Athanasius. Luther disputeth that all good thinges are to be referred to the grace of Christe: the verie same doth S. Augustine declare most wisely. It followeth therefore, that Luther hath deserued no lesse commendation of holines, then S. Augustine. See you not, vnderstande you not, consider you not, howe childishly you haue concluded, howe weakelie you haue defended your newe Maisters?

F iij

Are

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Are you wont in skirmish so to put backe the hornes of your ennemies? This was the principall and chiefest point of al, in the whiche you should haue shewed al the force and strength of your witte, to haue brought al the world in admiration of you.

You saie afterward that I doe taunt and reuile the soule of Luther. As though the minde of Luther did not yet liue in al suche as folowe his doctrine. You cal the same Luther the man of God. I knowe not what you are M. Haddon. But if it were lawful to esteeme by coniecture, what manner of man you are, I see no cause why I should greatly commend either your witte, or your life. for he that geaueth the testimonie of diuine vertue or heauenlie cōuersation to a most filthie and infamous personne, we may worthely suspecte, that he is him selfe subiecte vnto the like vices. Your woordes are these. *This man of God, Whome you*

*reprochefully call a mad man, in open as-  
semble before Charles the fift, gaue a so-  
bre and sounnd account of his faith. That  
is false. You might better saie, that in  
the presence of the Emperour him  
selfe, he most impudently betraied his  
owne madnes. And, that he was not  
punished for so doing, it was, bicause  
he had receiued before hand the Em-  
perours safeconduicte for his indem-  
nitie, in case he spake anie thing not  
agreable to holie religion. You saie.  
This madde man stooode fast and in safetie  
thirtie yeares, in spite of all the politike  
and wise patrones of your Church, were  
they neuer so madly bent to make him out  
of the waie. In these wordes you doe  
not defende Luther, but you reioise  
and triūph at the ruine of the Church.  
I knowe that the outrage of Luther  
hath ben fortified and mainteined by  
the aide of Princes, and by the furie of  
the common people: and I confesse  
that it hath so come to passe for our  
synnes.*



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synnes. For as God in the old time to punish the synnes of his people, stirred vp ennemies against them, minding by punishment and plagues to bring them backe to honest ciuilitie and godlie religiō: euen so in our time hath he suffred Luther, and permitted his madnes to be bolstered and borne out by the helpe of manie men, meaning by plagues of his wisdome appointed, to cal vs home againe to the seruēt loue and folowing of true godlines. But wheras you saie, that Luther stoode fast and in safetie: surely you know not wherin safetie standeth, if you be of that mind, that it is rather a miserie to be pounished for synne, then to liue in synne. Furthermore the patrones of the Church (as it liketh you to call them) perced him thorough with their writings, and set out his name to all the posteritie, dishonested with the fowle spottes of his most heinouſe and filthie life. As  
for

for the thirtie yeares, in the which you boast he stooode so faste, you neede bragge no more. For the name of Mahumete, which hath cōtinued aboue nine hundred yeares, remaineth yet in verie greate honour and estimation emongest suche men, as doe followe that wicked and detestable secte. But Erasmus, saie you, geaueth unto this madde man a singular good testimonie of innocencie by these wordes. The doctrine of Luther manie men mislike, but his life they doe with one voice allow. I doe not so much esteeme Erasmus, that I thinke my selfe bounde to set my hand to his testimoniall in all matters. And yet I know, that Erasmus wrote against Luther, (how beit not so earnestly as the cause required). For he feared the furious and reprochfull talke of the felow.

You accuse me for saing, that Luther was Popular, and withall you demaunde of me, what I meane by the

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Popular  
vvhat it  
is.

the worde Popular. I wil do soo much for you, that you maie vnderitād, how fitly the worde maie be applied to Luther. They were sometimes called Popular, which sought the common profitte of the people, and endeouored them selues by strength and diligence to rescue the impotent and poore men, when wrong was offered them by such as were of greater force and power. This name therfore was in those daies much esteemed and highly commended Now whereas it is the propertie of flatterie to counterfaite vertue, and vnder the pretended colour of honestie and gentlenes priuily to creepe into the hartes of the simple people: the craftie and malitious fellows, whose only bent was to attein to honour, perceiuing that suche as were Popular, were in greatest estimation emongest the people, and by common agreement promoted to the highest romes of honour: endeouored them

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them selues to seeme Popular. And these men considered verie curiously, not what was in dede good and profitable for the people, but what they liked and longed most after as profitable vnto them. And as it fareth now a daies with manie seruitours in court that hunte after the fauour of Kinges, they spie out diligently, not what stādeth most with the kinges profite and honour, but what they most couet, what they loue, and what they would fainest bring to passe, seruing only their vnlawfull pleasure and vnruled affection: euen so emongest free peoples did those men, whome we cal popular, the Grecians called them *δημαγωγοις*, that is to witte, leaders of the people: they applied them selues, not to the profite, but to the pleasure of the people. For the profite of the people consisteth in a good and discrete moderation of thinges: but through inordinate greedines of the thing

Clavv  
backes of  
the court.

## THE FIRST

thing that they lust after, and through the name of libertie, it is brought to naught. The common people enuied such as were men of power. These Populares made lawes, by the whiche they were either depriued of their goods, or bannished out of their countrie, or put to death. The people could not awaie with seueritie of lawes. The lawes therfore, that seemed any thing streight, in restraining the vnbridled affections of the people, the Populares tooke quite awaie. The people hated vertue, bicause they sawe, it stood directly against their vntamed outrages: the Populares with their decrees and ordinaunces dispatched all vertue out of their common weales, and so by the meanes of these Populares, the people might without cōtrol or check doe what them list. But to cōclude, such as came to honor by this meanes, serued the filthie lust, the vicious desire, the vncleane affectiō, and the furious

riousse rage of the base people: and did  
 so beare them selues in euerie office,  
 that it might ful wel appere, that they  
 were no free men, but the verie bond-  
 slaues of the vndiscret and mad peple.  
 And the better to bring this matter to  
 passe, they marked verie diligētly, not  
 only what the people longed for, but  
 also whome they enuied at for wealth  
 and richesse: and so brought al men of  
 power and richesse to be enuied, styr-  
 red vp the most earnest hatred of the  
 commons against their Princes, set fire  
 vnto the hore rage of the multitude,  
 therwith to cōsume and waſt al ſuch as  
 were in high authoritie and honour in  
 their cōmon weales. But how did they  
 profit the peple? Ful wel I warrāt you.  
 For euen thoſe thinges, that the peple  
 moſt thirſtily gaped after, were vtterli  
 ouerthowē. For wheras the nature of  
 the peple is ſuch, that thei cā not beare  
 to much welth and proſperity: hauing  
 once attained the libertie: whiche  
 they

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they so much wished for, they sal together by the eares within themselves, they rage and ruffle, they tolle and turmoile, and in the end they wrecke their angre and malice euen vpon them, that were the procurers of this libertie. And so, (whereas nothing can longe continew, where discord and madnes reigneth) it cometh to passe, that they leese not onely the libertie and impunitie by the diligence and flatterie of these Populars procured, but also their honest and lawfull libertie, whiche they might otherwise haue kepte long time. These are they, that are wont to be called Populars.

Now it remaineth, that we declare, whether frier Luther were Popular after this manner. Is there anie doubt in the wordle of the matter? What other thing, I praie you, intended Luther, but only to flatter the people? Al such thinges as the people hated and lothed, did he not take them quite awaie?

awaie? The authoritie of the Bishop  
 of Rome, did he not vtterly deface it?  
 The holie Canons, did he not abrogate  
 and disannull them? Did he not stirre  
 vp hatred and enuie against the Prin-  
 ces of the Church? did he not quench  
 in mens hartes al feare of lawes both  
 of God and man? did he not make a  
 faith, which assured men of saluation,  
 were they neuer so wicked, yea and  
 obstinately bent to cōtinew in naugh-  
 tines? did he not shew to al the wordle  
 a great hope of licentiousnes? did he  
 not with his doctrine make those men  
 disobedient and rebellious, which he  
 him selfe had begoten, fostred and  
 brought vp? Is it not wel knowē, that  
 such as had geuen them selues wholly  
 to his doctrine, prooued so desperate  
 and headlong, that he him selfe could  
 not rule them? But how worthely you  
 defend him M. Haddon? *If he be popu-  
 lar, say you, that regardeth the health of  
 the people, there is no man more popular*

shew

G

shew



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then he: but if you meane, by popular, such a one as stirreth the people to civile discord, read his booke, in the which he inuiceth against the tumultes of the cōmon people in Germanie, and slaunder him no more. Oh what a wise mā is this? How wittily he quiteth the Prince of his religiō? I cal him Popular, whose scholers by hearing his doctrine become seditious. You answered me, that Luther cōplained of the tumultes in Germanie, whiche his scholers and folowers stirred vp. And you are so blockishe, that you perceue not that you speke for me against your selfe. Luther, say you, speketh earnestly against the tumultes in Germanie. Why then he cōfesseth, that the selfe same religiō, which he had taken vpō him to gouerne, which he had instructed with diuine ordinaunces, which he had brought backe to the old puritie of the gospel, is stirring and seditious. Then did Luther bring meruelous goodly frutes to his cōtrei men. for he  
made

made them not modest, but reproch-  
ful: not gentle, but impatiēt: not quiet,  
but seditious: yea so much, that he him  
selfe was forced to set out bookes, and  
to reprehēd their desperat madnes. O  
what a holesome gospellike doctrine  
was this? what a wonderful light cast  
this diuine mā into the wordle? what a  
soueraigne salue laied he to the wound-  
ed cōsciēces? Is this, to pouрге the  
Church throughly of vices? to restore  
againē the olde puritie of the gospell?  
to proppe vp the doctrine of the Apo-  
stles, begynning to fal? to cause by his  
doctrine such men, as were of nature  
quiet, to become so prowd and insolēt,  
such brawlers and quarellers, that their  
captaine, yea their owne deere father  
could not hold them backe? For how  
manie thousand men were slaine by  
ciuile warres in Switzerland styrred  
vppe by Zwinglius and Ocolampa-  
dius? What a companie of husband  
men in Sueuia folowing their captaine

Heresse  
cause of  
ciuile  
vvarres  
ād bloudy  
shead.

## THE FIRST

Muncer were cut of by the nobilitie? What place was there in al Germanie free from this contagious and pestilēt discorde? The begynners and ringleaders thereof what were they, out of what fountaine sprang they? Doubtlesse out of the rage, madnes, and presumption, of Luther, out of the shop wher the most infamous Lutheranisme was wrought and cōtriued. But some of the forenamed personnes fel out afterward with Luther. Yea and no meruaile. For it was impossible, that such naughtie felowes being al agreed in mischiefe, should long agree within themselues: where euerie one of them sought to be the Captaine. What did Luther him selfe? did he not make seditious sermons? did he not stirre vp the commōs against their Princes? did he not vse verie reprochful and villanous talke against most honorable personages? did he not most spitefully reuile th'Emperour him selfe, Hērie king  
of

of England, George Duke of Saxonic,  
 and manie other noble Princes? Is it  
 not wel knowē, that al his sermons tē-  
 ded to the stirring vp of discord and se-  
 dition? What is then more plaine and  
 euident then that the secte of Luther  
 is altogether Populare, seditious and  
 troublesome? And how daungerous it  
 is to Princes, it nedeth no declaration.  
 For what so euer is, after this sort, po-  
 pulare, is, (as I declared in my letters),  
 verie much contrarie, not only to the  
 good estate of the common weale, but  
 also to the maiestie of Princes. If you  
 be not of such conuenient witte, that  
 you are able to foresee by the causes  
 going before, what euent is like to fo-  
 low: you wil neuer fully vnderstād it,  
 though I should declare it with infinit  
 examples. Is it vnknown, thinke you  
 that through the naughtines and out-  
 rage of Luther, Ludouicus King of  
 hūgarie was slaine in the fielde with a  
 great multitude of Christian men? For

Heresie  
 ouer-  
 throwve  
 of Kings  
 and king  
 domes.

G. iij. when

## THE FIRST

whé Solimanus Emperour of the Turks brought against the King a great huge armie, âd great daüger was bêt against al Germany: yet the cities of Germani, being partly entâgled with ciuile wars within themselves (the which Luthers sect had caused) âd partly imbrued with the doctrine of Luther (who maintained in disputatiô, that it was not lauful to withstâd the force of the Turkes) either could not, or would not aide Ludouicus. If therfore this victorie of the Turkes hath brought such great dishonour to the name of Christians: if by it ther is laied open a gap into Christendom, to the vtter decaie and ruine of Austria, and to the great daunger of all Germanie: if the noble kingdome of Hungarie (for the greater part of it) be brought vnder the rule and gouernement of a most barbarous and crewell ennemie: for al this we maie thâke the naughtines and owtrage of Martine Luther. But peraduenture you neuer heard of this geare, and therfore you

wil bide by it, that your new gospel is  
no hinderāce to Princes. What? cā you  
beignorant of that also, how Edward  
your owne king was in his childhood  
most traiterously made away with poi-  
son? know not you, by whom Charles  
the Emperour a most worthie Prince  
was both betraid and assaulted? heard  
you neuer saie, with how crewel trea-  
son quene Marie a womā most excel-  
lently furnished with princelie vertues,  
was first assaulted with poison and af-  
terward besieged of her own subiects?  
Is it possible that you should know no  
thīg of the cōspiracy, in the which was  
contriuied by a cōpanie of most filthie  
traitors the murder both of the quene  
and of Cardinall Poole a most noble,  
godlie, and wisemā? what nede I to re-  
herse vnto you the rebelliō of the frēch  
mē, the disloialty, the cruelty, the wast  
ād spoile of churches and holy thinges  
in Frāce? what should I say of the king  
of Scotlād, who was by most cruel vil-  
lanie murdered and slaine? Now they

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that haue stirred vp such great broiles  
and tumultes, they that haue committed  
such barbarous and horrible actes,  
frō whens haue they their originall or  
begynning? Is it not euident to the  
wordle, that the verie fountaine and  
spring of al these mischiefes was in Lu-  
ther? And yet it liketh you to cal him  
the man of God, one sent from heauen  
for the saluation of mankind. Tel me, I  
praie you, what vertues appeared in  
him so great, that you should conceiue  
such opinion of him as you doe? what  
continencie of life? what grauitie of  
māners? What seueritie? what gentle-  
nes? what contempte of wordlie thin-  
ges? what contemplation of heauenly  
thinges? what time spent in cōtinnual  
praiers? what daies and nightes passed  
ouer in weeping and teares for the  
health of the people? What fasting?  
what gronig and sighing? Finally what  
deedes of most seruēt charitie hath cō-  
mended this man vnto you so much,  
that

that you dare saie of him, that he maie wel be compared for his excellencie in vertue and godlines, with Basile, and Athanasius, and al other holie men?

First of all, he was, as his owne paiges do confesse, of nature crewel, in his talke rough, wrathful, haughtie and prowde, yea so muche, that he esteemed not Melanchton to be a man. Then his vowe solempnely made vnto Christ he brake it, and like a most filthie ribaude coupled him selfe with a woman, whiche had in like manner vowed perpetual chastitie vnto Christ in a monasterie of Vrgines: and by this example shewed him selfe to be a captaine and ringleader to al suche, as would doe the like. To be short, he was infamous for many other most heinouse vices and detestable crimes. But least his commendable qualities might seeme to be vtterly defaced with the blemish of manie vices: I confesse, he could with a goodlie shew of hu-



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humanity somtimes hide his rough and  
boisteous mad nature, and so set forth  
hīself to the simple people. For he was  
a pleasant cōpagnio, and at a bāket a io-  
lie prater in al kind of myrth verie fine,  
if reprochful taunting may be called ci-  
uīl finenes. He pleased much in scōf-  
fing and taunting, in reuiling the Princes  
and gouerners of the Church, in moc-  
kīg and scornīg of honest plain folkes,  
*Pron. 3. d.* such as were true Christiā mē. But our  
lord, saith Salomō, abhorreth scorner,  
and cōmunicateth the secretes of his  
cōūsel with the simple. Wherby it may  
be gathered that Luther was not reple-  
nished with the light of heauē. And yet  
you thīk hī worthy to be cōpared with  
the most holy fathers. Of selow ship tel  
me, which of al the aunciēt fathers di-  
steined himselfe with ribaudrie and in-  
cest? Which of them brought the cō-  
mō people in hope of licētious liuing?  
Which of them stirred vp with his ser-  
mons sedition and hurlyburly in di-  
uers

ners and sundrie places? which of them taught mē to put the hope of their sal-  
tiō in faith, that is to say, in a only rash  
 and folish presumptiō? Which of them  
 tied vp the wil of mā, which god wold  
 haue to be free, with I cā nottel what  
 bādes of destenie? which of them durst  
 euer affirme, that God was the author  
 or chief cause of al sinne? which of the  
 euer held that al good works wrought  
 and done of holy mē by the grace and  
 instinct of the holyghost were vnclean  
 and spotted with sinne? which of them  
 euer toke away the true iustice, which  
 by the grace and goodnes of Christ is  
 ascribed vnto faithful mē, and cōsisteth  
 in clean life, innocēt cōuersation, and  
 exercise of holy workes: and in steede  
 of it substituted a newly deuised iustice  
 such as was neuer heard of before? For  
 whē Luther denied, that syn was quite  
 blotted out in holy mē by the grace of  
 Christ, he affirmed, that ther was none  
 other iustice, but onely the singular  
 iustice

## THE FIRST

iustice of Christe, applied to euerie particular man by faith, were he neuer so synnefull and wicked: the whiche being but one in all men, it was impossible, that there shoulde be anie difference in the worlde betwene the iustice of anie common man, and the iustice of Paule or Peter, yea or of the most holie Virgine mother of God. And you demaund of me what those monsters of religion are. Al these thinges, whiche I haue here most briefly comprised, I saie, are the most horrible monsters of religion: and the father of them is not villanous, but villanie it selfe: not frantike and madde, but verie frantikenes and madnes it selfe. What shew of bashfulnes, honestie or modestie could you see in this man being the ouerthrower of all honestie, continencie, and modestie? What glimse of vertue could he so dasele your eyes withal, that you woulde suffer your selfe to be so daungerously de-

cei-

ceiued in him? And yet wil you continue in your errour as you haue begunne. And yet wil you acquite suche a pestilēt secte as blamelesse and without faulte? And yet will you liken the good holie Fathers to Luther a moste vile and infamous caitiue.

But you triumph exceedingly, that he stode so stiffe thirtie yeares together, and was neuer punished for his naughtines and owtrage. Can you imagin anie greater punishment in the worlde, then the remembrance of a synneful and filthie life? The remorse of his heinouſe offences made him terribly afraied. The ſeendes of hell tormenters of damned ſowles vexed his mind. The ennemie the diuel shooke him vp, and would not suffer him once to breath or rest him selfe. Truth it is, he woulde banquet and make good cheere with his freendes, and there-with somewhat relent his intensife cares. But neither chambering, nor banquet.

## THE FIRST

Luthers  
death.

ketting is of that force, that it is able to raise vp a mans hart weied downe with the peise of synne. But what kind of death died this noble holie Father? Being at supper with his frinds ouer night he quaffed somewhat freely, and the nexte morning was founde dead.

You saie afterward, that there were brought into England by the goodnes of God a golden couple of olde men, Martin Bucere, and Peter Martyr, whose vertues you cōmend aboue the skies. Of them I haue nothing elles to say, but that I thinke them to be verie lewde and naughtie felowes, if for nothing els, yet for this cause onely, that you so highly commend them. for he that commendeth Luther, it is not possible, that he should cōmend any thing that is godly, honest, or holy.

Whereas you put me in mind that I should somewhat temper my stile, and not cal such men arrogāt and prowde,

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as you esteeme for gentle and mo-  
dest, signifying withal after a sort the  
daunger that by them might ensue  
towards me: I woulde ye would ad-  
uisedly consider, howe illfaoueredly  
your woordes hang together. For if  
they be verie gentle (as you saie they  
are) then although I shall reuile them,  
they will neuer be moued withall, but  
wil meruelously well keepe their pa-  
cience and constancie. But if they  
wil searcely sette vppon me with vil-  
lanous and reprochfull language: then  
are they not so gentle, as you make  
them to be. I knowe verie wel, that  
vnder the couert of a sheepes skynne  
(as Ohriste saith) lieth hidden the  
rough and crewell nature of wolues.  
It is also by experience well tried,  
that there is nothing in the worlde  
more shamelesse, then these fellows  
are. For when anie reason is brought  
against them, thei endenour the selues  
to answer it, not by reason, but by  
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Mat. 7.6

## THE FIRST

multiplying of woordes . And therefore, when they are pressed with argumentes, then beginne they to chafe and sweat, to feare and fainte, to raile and raue, and in the ende fall to plaine scolding, vntil thei haue founde for their impudent assertion some shameles shifte. But beleue me I feare no mans slaunderous tongue. For I haue committed myne honestie and estimation to the keeping of Iesus Christ, and therefore no man shal euer be able to thrust me out of my place by the violence of his tongue. And as for your reproghful woordes, they moue me no more then the rauiing of one that were franke or out of his witte. Were it not that the loue of godlines had moued me, had I euer written so much as one letter against you? No, not one. Iooke ypon me this charge of writing, nor minding thereby to mainteine myne owne good fame or estimation, but to confute

fute your wicked and vngodlie talke. Wherefore be bolde and spare not, to taunt me at your pleasure, to perce my good name with fowl words, to tourmoile it with villanie, to rente and teare it with al dishonestie: and I geue good leaue and licence not onely to you, but also to all your Bucers and Martyrs, most gentle and softe creatures (as you cal them) to bende them selues as fiercely against me as thei can deuise. Wherefore there is no cause why you shuld goe about to make me affraied of them: for so muche as, vnto their tauntes, for the which I care not, I wil neuer answere: and their reasons are very peuilh, and already cōfuted by the bookes of many learned men: and I my self am at this point, that I fear nothing in the worlde but only Christe.

As touching their persons, if there be any sense of humanitie in you, you see how il you haue defended thē. You say afterwarde, that it is nothing true, that

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## THE FIRST.

you should stand to the holy Scriptures only : for so much as you do receive many sentences of the holy Fathers withal. What a doubling and inconsistency is this? Now you reject many things, for this reason only, because they are (as you say) the devises of men: and by and by, you receive what you list, and say, that you have not rejected all the traditions of men. You are so doubtful, so divers, and so slipperie, that you can not well tell your selves, what you thinke, and what you mind to stand to. And yet when you speak those wordes, you commended them that acknowledge nothing elles but the holy Scriptures, and refuse all holy traditions and ordinaunces. These are your wordes. *Truely if it were so, then followed they the example of our Lorde Iesus Christe, then followed they the custome of the Apostles, and of the auncient Fathers in the primitive Church. How many things you laie out at a venture?*

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It is like forsooth that Christ the mind  
and wisdom of God the Father, by  
whose power and dispensation the law  
it selfe was made, by whom the Pro-  
phetes declared thinges to come, of  
whom al holie men of old time recei-  
ued their light, was content to abyde  
that lawe him selfe, that he would not  
be so hardie, as to speake one woorde,  
which he founde not registred in the  
holie Scriptures. I besech you Sir, wher  
read he in the Scriptures, that a man  
for being angry only, although he vtte-  
red not one reprochful word, shuld in-  
cur the dāger of Gods iudgemēt? wher  
found he it written, that a man for ca-  
sting his eye a litle aside wā only, shuld  
be accounted as an adulterer? By what  
wordes in the Law was a man forbid-  
den to geue a bil of diuorſe to his wife?  
In what place was it euer writen, that  
a man minding the perfect obseruatiō  
of the Lawe, shuld sell all his goodes,  
and bestowe the money made thereof

Vnwritten  
truthes.

Mat, 5, 8

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## THE FIRST.

to the vse of the poore, reseruing to him selfe nothing? Haue you euer read, either in the law, or in the Psalmes, or in the Prophets, that the way to saluatiō is a narrowe waie, or that you ought, when a man hath striken one cheek, to holde him vpp the other, or that you ought to pray vnto God for their life, that speake il of you, and woorke your destruction? But nowe to come to other pointes, of the birth and proceeding of God : of the regeneration of men in heauenlie life, the whiche Nicodemus a man exactlie seene in the doctrine of the lawe vnderstood not: of the time, in the whiche God would be woorshipped neither at Hierusalem, nor in the mountaine of Samaria: of the bread of heauen, whiche is the foode and sustenaunce of our life: of al these thinges what woorde haue you expressely written in any place of the olde Testamente? But when Christ spake these wordes, there was  
no

Io. 3. 4

Io. 4. 6.

no Gospell yet written, neyther did any written monumente confirme the sayinges of Christ, but looke what he ordeined by woordes, was afterward put in writing, to the ende that men should not forgette it. I doe here let passe many thinges (minding not to prosecute al that might be saied, for so muche as I haue already spoken sufficientlie) to the intent you might vnderstand howe vnadvisedly you haue saied, that our Lorde Iesus Christ did also obserue such a rule in his doinges. What shall I saie of the Apostles? Where had S. Paule read, that such as *Galat. 5. 2* kepte the circumcision of the Lawe, were to be separated from the communion of Christe? In whiche of all the holie Writers found he, that it is vnseemely for a woman to worshippe God bare headed, or for a man to couer his head, when he praieth to God? *1. Cor. 11. 6* What shoulde I rehearse vnto you, howe he commendeth suche men as

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## THE FIRST.

Act. 15. c.

were mindful of his Doctrine, deliuered vnto them either by writing, or by worde? What should I speake of that, that the Apostles say in their Councel? It hath seemed good to the holy Ghost and vs? They saie not: It is written in the holie Scripture: but, It hath seemed good to the holie Ghost and vs. Nowe as touching the holie Fathers, which peraduenture you neuer read, how durst you affirme of them, that they neuer brought in any thing for the gouernement of the Church, but what thei had found written in the holie Scriptures? How many things reherseth S. Basile, and disputeth that thei were deliuered from the Apostles vnto the Church, onely by woorde of mouth? How many such things are recited of Cyprian, Chrysostom, Augustine, and the rest of the holie Fathers? How much do they reuerence al such holy ordinaunces, as were decreed in general Councels? I do here omitte an  
infinite

infinite nūber of testimonies, which do plainly cōvince this madnes of you, or rather of your Maisters, for so much as not onely the greatest learned men of our age, but also the most holy Fathers of other ages, haue in these points very learnedly disputed against your opinion. For in times past, al heretikes in a manner held this opinion, that nothing ought to be receiued, vnlesse it were written in the holie Scriptures, minding withal to wrest and corrupt the holie Scriptures with their owne interpretation. But the holie Fathers most earnestly defended the contrary, alleaging Argumentes and Examples brought euen from the Apostles time, and by the decrees of Cōncels directed they al their doinges. Wherefore suche thinges as you report of Christ, of his Disciples, and of the holie Fathers, are al most euidently false. You say, it is not true, that your Doctours should take any thing vppon them, about the

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cōmon sort of men. Can you ymagine any greater arrogancie in the worlde, thē to presume to reforme the church, being somewhat impaired, with newe lawes and statutes, whiche neither Athanasius, nor Basile, nor Cyprian, nor any other of the holi Fathers euer thought vpon: and to set such wordes, and countenance vpon the doctrine of their new Gospell as though they had done althinges by ordre and appointment of Christ him selfe?

You say that I am not able to shew any fault or dishonestie in the worlde in their life. That is true, if we must needes stand to your opinion: For so much as emongest you neither filthie pleasure of the bodie, nor rebellion, nor any other disordre or outrage are accompted as faults.

You finde faulte with me, for that I cease not to trifle daungerously, and to hinder the estimation of most graue personages, by whose diligence your Church

Churche hath ben set in a maruelous goodly ordre. You could say no lesse, for such as you doe commend ( being your selfe both for vertue and authoritie a very graue sire ) must needes be verie graue men. Then you saie.

*You laie to our charge that the companies of virgins and monkes, which were sometimes inclosed in Monasteries to keepe the Diuine seruice of God, and to mainteine the chastitie of their bodies, were by our men let out to the vncleane pleasure of the flesh, and al other licentious lining: that their howses were laied wide open for gaine, that lawes were made, that no religion shoulde hinder the pleasure of the bodie. What you meane by their gaine, I vnderstand not. For I neuer suspected, that they did for their gaine comit any vile or filthy acte. But you doe in this as you doe commoly. You can not wel tel, neither what you do say, nor what you would say. Then how impudently is that spoken*  
that



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that foloweth? *Out upon this ouer male-part and licentious desire, which you haue to peruert all thinges. We confesse, yea and with all our heartes confesse, that, through the moſte holie aduertisement of our menne, those downgeous of all wickednes are fallen downe, into the which the tender young maidens, and the ſcelie boyes were violently thrust in, to their ſo great hinderaunce in good manners, as I can not for bashfulnesse well declare. Oh what a shamefaſte and maydenlie fellow is this? What is that, I praie you, that you woulde not for shamefaſtnes expreſſe? Nothing in the wordle. for immediatly after you bring in theſe woordes. Those ſame ſhoppes of lewdnes had little other thing in them, but only a certaine phariſaical continuance of prayers in an unknowne tongue. Their other more ſecret exerciſes might wel be likened to the old renelles of Bacchus in Rome. Tel me I praie you (moſt preſump-*

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sumptuous and impudent railer) could  
you hane vttered any more spiteful  
reproche against the poore monaste-  
ries of holi virgins, if your goodly mai-  
denlines and modestie had not staied  
you? Compare you the greene arbour  
of Christ, the house of chastitie, the re-  
presentation of heauēly life, with the  
most horrible and filthy reuels of Ba-  
chus, whiche were sometime moſte  
sharply pounished by the lawes of the  
Romaines? And yet you say forsooth,  
that your maydenlie modestie wil not  
suffer you to expresse their secrete vi-  
ces. Pleasure you so much in your stin-  
king eloquence? Like you so wel to  
taunt and reuile chastitie, to ioyne the  
defence of your most barbarus and vile  
acte, with the reproche of Christ? As  
though the worlde knewe not, that  
you ouerthrow those holy Monaste-  
ries, not for any displeasure you beare  
to naughtines and vice, but for the  
hatred you beare towards chastitie.

And

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And oflike the greedie desire you had of the goods and possessions, with the which the Nonnes and Monkes were maintained, holpe the matter well foreward. If you had had no face at al, no shame, no bashfulnes in the world, how could you with more vile and filthy language haue dishonested so holie a trade of life? The exercise of Religious and chaste life you cal the downgeon of wickednes: that is to say, a sincke of al vice, a cannel of filthines, a standing poole of vnclean pleasures. Could any thing be more impudently spoken? And yet you content not your selfe with al this stincking sturre of wordes, but you say moreouer, that the tender young maidens, and the scellie boies were violently thrust into the said Monasteries, to their greate hinderance in good manners. What meane you by this? What would you say? What geaue you the worlde to vnderstande? Is there any vice so heinous

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nouse, that it may not be wel comprised in this your shamelesse talke? After this there foloweth the moste beastlie word of all the rest, where you cal the holie discipline of cleane life and continencie, a shoppe of naughtines. As for the Pharisaical continuance of praier, which is but a tricke proceeding of Luthers railing spirit, I wil let it passe. But wherto tedeth the comparison, which you make with the most vncleane and detestable rebels of Bacchus? Is mans heart able to deuise any thing so abhominable, that you may not wel cōprehende it within the compasse of this your moste base and vile language? Why then what is that, which you can not expresse for bashfulnes? Doutlesse nothing: wherof it foloweth, that you are vtterly void of al shame, bashfulnes and honestie. For I can not tel how it cometh to passe, that the more a man vseth the companie and familiaritie of such men as you commende, the more shamelesse

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The ori-  
ginall and  
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of mōkes.

shamelesse is his behauiour. But to the intent you may the better see, howe heinouse and wicked an offence you haue cōmitted against your owne self: I think it good to declare the original of the name and institutiō of Monkes.

There are two kind of men within the folde of Christes church. The one is of them, which liuing a cōmon life, cōtent them selues with the commendable exercise of meane vertue and godlines. The other is of such, as endeavour them selfe to excell in the following of heavenly life and discipline. Now for so much as the ende, whiche euery Christian man ought to set before his eyes, is the likenes of the perfection and iustice of God, the which they atteine muche sooner, which are prōpter and redier to behold the beautie of the wil of God: the which beautie no man can wel cōceiue in his hart, so long as he is as it were tied downe with the bandes of streight frindship and familiaritie of the bodie: it came to

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pasſe, that ſuche as had an earneſt and  
ſeruent deſire to ioyn them ſelues vn-  
to God, called away their mindes ( as  
much as was poſſible) from the famili-  
ar acquaintance of the body, to the in-  
tent they mighte the better faſten the  
eyes of their hearts in the cleerenes of  
God. Theſe are they, which ( as our  
Lord ſaith ) haue ghelded them ſelues  
for the loue and earneſt deſire of the  
kingdome of heauen. For the plea-  
ſure of the bodie weyeth downe the  
heart euen to the earth, and with her  
importunitie carieth away the minde  
from the contēplation of the brightnes  
of God. The which thing is ſo true, *Heb. 13. 4.*  
that, although Mariage be honorable,  
and the bed vndefiled, and he that de-  
fraudeth his wiſe of the right of Mari-  
age, committeth no ſmall finne, yet it  
is ſometimes neceſſarie for ſuche as  
do minde to receiue this cleereneſſe  
of God within them ſelues to abſteine  
from their owne wiues.

For

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**Exod. 19, c** For this cause. Moyſes, before he received the law, gaue commaundemēt to al men, to abſteine from the companie of their wiues, vntil God had geue out the law. For this conſideration S. Paule alſo, when he forbiddeth the husbandes to forſake the companie of their wiues, addeth this claue. except it be for a time to geaue your ſelues whollie to praier. In the which place the holie Apoſtle teacheth plainly that the verie lawfull and holy companie of man and wife, doth hinder the mind, that it can not ſo freely and ſpeedily pearce the heauē, and there talke familiarly with God. And therefore ſaieth he in the ſame Epiſtle, he that ioineth his virginie in marriage, doth wel: and he that ioyneth not, doth better. The reaſon, whiche the Apoſtle geueth, why it were better for a maide to continewe vnmarried, is this. Bi-  
 caufe that, ſuch as are entangled with the cares of marriage, are oſtentimes

caried awaie from the remembrāce of  
 heauenly thinges. But such as are free  
 from mariage, are troubled with none  
 other care, but how to please God.  
 And, the single woman, saith S. Paule,  
 thinketh vpon the thinges that apper-  
 teine vnto God: how she may be holly  
 in bodie and in foule. And a few lines  
 after, he setteth before our eyes, the  
 goodli fruit of this most holy freedom,  
 which is, a libertie to praie vnto God  
 at all times without any impediment  
 or lette. That this so great a gifte, and  
 benefitte ought to be ascribed, not to  
 the merite of man, but to the mercie  
 of God, our Lorde him selfe decla-  
 reth, saying. Euerie man receiueth  
 not this word, but they only to whom  
 it is geauen. Whereby it is manifest,  
 that, suche as doe so conquer the ty-  
 ranny of fleshly pleasure, that they are  
 able to continue their lyfe in chastitie,  
 they dooe it by a singular benefitte of  
 God, and for that cause are most wor-

*Mat. 19. b*

I thie



## THE FIRST.

thie of honoure and reuerence.

But you wil saie peraduenture , that I spende muche talke in thinges too wel knowen , and not necessarie . They are , I graunte you, thinges verie well knowen , and thoroughly debated in the writings of holie menne . But that they are nothing necessarie, then maie you geue iudgement , when you shall perfectly vnderstande , that they are impertinēt to those matters, which I haue taken vpon me to treat of .

Whereas therefore in the Primitiue Church , the greatest parte of men that became Christians, liued vprightly and godly, but yet so, that they differed little from the common lyfe of men: there was no smal number which were inflamed with most earnest desire of the greater dignitie and higher perfection. Nowe these (being therevnto moued by the spirit and grace of God) fearing lest the luste of the bodie , and care thereof, might be some hinderāce

vnto

unto them, and hoping withal that they  
 should more manfully vanquish the sen-  
 suality of the flesh, abstained the selues  
 from mariage: to the intent that although  
 their bodies walked vp and downe in  
 the earth, yet their minds and thoughts  
 might be conuersant with God in heauē.  
 The which thing that they might the  
 more commodiously bring to passe, they  
 separated themselues from the company  
 and conuersation of men, and with one  
 accord pitched in one place: that there  
 might be made of all their mindes, one  
 sure and perfecte agreemente of heart  
 and will. And the order that was ta-  
 ken in the beginninge at Hierusalem,  
 that no man shoulde haue any posses-  
 sion seuerall to him, ( whiche coulde  
 not be long kept of all, for the greate  
 multitude of men ) was of these men  
 restored and putte in vre againe.  
 Their lyfe was nothing elles, but on-  
 ly a perpetual warre against the bodily  
 pleasures and sinne; with an earnest

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and continual meditation of heauenlie thinges. Their bodie therefore they subdued with fasting, watching and labour : but their mindes they stirred vp to behold the bewtie and brightnes of God by prayers and spiritual songes, hymnes and meditation of godly matters. Hereof proceded that most feruent flame of loue : hereof came that earnest desire to folow godlines and vertue : hereof arose the ioyning of mans wil with the wil of God: hereof sprang a certaine cleere and bright sonnes shine in the soule of man: finally hereof issued that knot or coniunction with God, then the whiche mannes hart is able to ymagin no thing streighter or faster.

These men were at the first called in greeke Monkes, that is to say, solitarie liuers : not so much bicause they haunted desert places, as bicause they forsoke and despised al wordly things, and were knitte with a most streight band

band of loue vnto God al only, according to the saying of Dauid. It is good *Psal. 72. d* for me to cleaue vnto God. And S. Paul saith in like manner. He that clea- *1. Cor. 6. d* ueth vnto God, is one spirit with God, These monkes therfor, which I speake of, that they might the better attaine vnto a state, in the whiche no man might disquiet or pul them away from this coniunction of the spirite of God: tooke such ordre of life, as I haue here declared. S. Dionysius of Areopagus whom I esteeme, after the Apostles, as prince of al Diuines, doth not only expound the name of a Monke after this sort, but declareth also, what ceremonie the Bishops vsed at the professing of monkes. This name of a monke hath ben sometimes in great reuerence and estimation: and howses were builded for them to dwell in, the whiche, as Philo writeth, were at the first called Monasteries. There were also many virgins inflamed with the loue of God,

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the which subdewing the sensual pleasure of the bodie, taming the affections of the mind, despising the riches of the world: gaue themselves wholly to the seruice of Christ: and the better to bring their purpose to good effect, they came together in one place, where they liued alwayes in the contemplation of God. S. Basile a very holie and great learned man, after many yeares drewe out a rule in writing for Monkes, to the ende they should no more alter and chaunge their discipline, but be well settled and bound alwaies to one vniforme fashion of religion. His Epistles are yet extante, in the whiche he doth moste grauelie confute the slaunderouse talke of certaine lewde felowes, the which misliked his doings herein. For the worlde was neuer, nor is now, nor neuer shall be without some feedmen and seruitors of Satans retinew, which endeuoure them selues to vndoe the

Decree

Decrees and ordinaunces of holy men. This life of Monkes how highly doth Chrysostome commend it? With how greate woordes doth Augustine bring men in admiration of it? How often, how grauely, how eloquently doth S. Hierome set out the excellencie of it? Who did not only cōmend it in words, but also solowed him self that trade of life, and liued and died in the company of Monks. And so did Gregorie of Nazianzen, the most worthy pillar of Diuinitie, the goodly paterne of vertue and eloquence. What should I here rehearse al other men, that haue excelled in learning and holines? Was ther euer any vertuouse and perfect man in the world, which gaue not exceding great commendation to the rule and life of Monks? Truth it is, that the earnest loue of this perfect religion hath ben slaked and quenched (as it happeneth) diuers times: but there neuer lacked holie men to stir it vp and kendle it againe.

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From

from thence came that wōderful good Father Benet, from thence came Bernard and Brunus, and after them Francis and Dominike, the whiche did not only set an order in the life of Monks, but also with most earnest and feruent desire, laboured to reforme the church of Priestes which was very slacke and negligent. How many Martyrs came from thence? How many Writers? How many excellent men in al kinde of vertues? For if there was any thing in the Church in their time, that tended either to example of excellent vertue, or to a rule of high wisedome, al that may we thanke the Monkes of: or (to speake better) thanke Christ him selfe, which stirred the hartes and mindes of Monkes to follow such a goodly discipline of vertue and wisedome.

But, to abridge this our discourse, being now made plaine, that there were euen in the Primitiue Church, two kind of Christians: the one which con-

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tēting them selues with meane doings,  
liued a cōmon life without crime: the  
other, which tending to heauenward  
with greater seruēcie, withdrew their  
minds from the familiariti of the body,  
and them selues from al resort of men,  
and cōsecrated their whole life, to the  
seruice and loue of Christ: being also  
euidently proued, that this life of per-  
fection farre passeth the other cōmon  
life: surely it is veri manifest, how great  
honour and reuerence men ought to  
haue borne to those houses of Virgins  
and Monkes. For they were in this  
kinde of life, which is more noble and  
excellent, yea and commeth farre nec-  
rer to the nature and likenesse of An-  
gelles, as it were common Scholes or  
working howses of heauenlie vertue,  
and cleane life. This is that, that indu-  
ced manie Christian Princes most ver-  
tuous and godly men, to build Mona-  
steries, and to endew them with pos-  
sessions, by the whiche the Virgins  
and



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and monkes might liue and serue God continuallie. When this was donne, those princes were for victories most renowned, for chiuallrie and seates of armes most honorable, and their countreis excellently wel gouerned. But nowe we see in many places where men do basely swarue from the godlines of their auncetours, that it cometh farre otherwise to passe. For with increasing of rentes and reuenues contendeth nedines: with the multitude of men, dishonesty: with pride, the weaknes of the whole cōmon weale: finally with the shew of holines impudently faced and borne out, sacrilege.

But you wil saye, that this kinde of monks are al decaied and worne away. Not emong vs, I assure you. For sence the Kinges of Spaigne haue bent them selues earnestly towards the reformation of religion: there is found so great religion and godlines in diuers Monasteries, that manie younge men of  
the

the nobility brought vp in great welth,  
standing in good hope of much wor-  
ship and honour in the cōmon weale,  
being inflamed with the loue of suche  
wōderful vertue as they see with their  
eyes, doe forsake richesse, despise ho-  
nour, reiect pleasures, litle regard the  
teares of their parents, and flie for suc-  
cour into some holy cōpanie of monks,  
as it were from the stormy tempest of  
filthie vice, into the quiet hauē of  
cleane life. In like maner many virgins  
of excellent bewtie and comely beha-  
uiour, being sewed vnto for marriage  
of diuerse yong men of the Nobilitie,  
haue forsaken al the allurements of this  
life, that they might in the company of  
holie virgins much more pleasantly so-  
lace them selues in the spirituall and  
sweet familiarity of Christ.

But you will saye peraduenture,  
that these exaamples of greate ver-  
tue, are verie fewe in comparison of  
them, that are thrust into Monasteries  
against

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against their wil and repining at it. And no meruaile. For why, in euerie kind, looke what is excellent, is also rare. Then whereas you talke of violence vsed in putting the Virgins into Monasteries, it was neuer permitted by any Lawe, nor yet allowed of wise men, and the holie Councell of Trent hath from hence soorth vtterlie forbidde it, and therfore it is now no more vsed.

But what fruite and commoditie haue these Virgins by this kind of life? Doubtlesse such as can not in wordes be expressed. For manie of them are so inflamed in spirit, that they are sometimes taken quite awaie from their bodies, and listed vp into heauen, where in the contemplation of the goodnes of God they reioyle excedingly, and beholding the bewtie and brightnes of God (so much as they may) are astonished, yea so much that sometimes they are besides them selues. I haue good acquaintāce my selfe with a Monke, a  
simple

simple and plaine man, the whiche, so often as mentiō is made of the loue of God, his senses failing him, he falleth vpon the grownd, and yet in the meane time, his memorie is fresh, and is in cōtemplation of heauenlie and godlie thinges. It were an infinite matter, if I wold reherse, how manie holie men I haue seene in those companies which you laugh to scorne, and howe manie virgins I haue talked withal, which are wonderful for religion and holines.

If these thinges be true (as they are most true) why haue you taken away this so excellēt an example of religiō? Whie haue you defaced so wonderful a rule of chastitie and cleane life, in the which is conteined that, that is in the religiō of Christ the highest perfectiō, and (as I said before) most of all to be esteemed? whie haue you violētly and furiously rushed into those holy howses to abolish vtterly out of the worlde the very remēbrance of perpetual chastitie?

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stity? Oh, say you, they liued not after the rule of S. Basil. I graūt you, for emōgest vs also somtime, the Nūnes forgetting their duety, waxed somewhat wanton, and some Monkes also liued very disordredly: howbeit the most holy order and disciplin was not for that cause vtterly taken away and ouerthrowen. Neither are the members of the body, which may be healed, so sone as they fal into any disease, forthwith to be cut of. What? Thinke you it wel done, for a smal blemish or eyesore to grubbe vp the whole order by the root? Were it not better, wene you to bring the members, that are diseased, to their naturall strēgth again? If you had vsed the same medicine, as our Prīces did: why might not the cōmendable vertues of chastity and holines haue florished emōgst you, as thei do with vs? But it was neuer no part of your thought. Neither did reason moue you to doe well, but hatred and couetousnes pricked you forward to mischief.

Nowe as touching the Pharisaicall continuance of praiers (for so it liketh you to terme the continual exercise in the Diuine seruice of God) this much I answere. If the defence of Religion do consist in vnreasonable and reprochful woordes, then are you to to muche to good for vs. For you haue had in that honest faculty, an excellent scholemaster called Luther, from whom proceeded al these termes, Pharisee, hypocrit, Papist, and such other ( which I do let passe as wordes not meet to be spoken of any honest and bashfull man) with the which he reuiled holy men. And yet you to mainteine one mischiese by an other, to defende Sacrilege with a heape of slaunders and false witnesse, you saie, that the disorder of Monkes in their Celles, and of Nunnes in their Cloisters was so great, that they might well be compared with the reuelles of Bacchus. Howe then haue you lest such heinous offences unpunished?

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Wherefore did you not suppress such  
foule and horrible vices with most  
extreme and sharpe punishments?  
Wherefore did you not procede with  
al seueritie and rigor against such de-  
testable conueticles (for so you ful vn-  
reuerently cal them) wherefore did you  
not make them exāples to the worlde,  
lest the libertie of vnbridled and filthy  
pleasure might ouerflow your cōtrei  
to the vtter yndoing of your common  
weale? Are you so rechelesse and negli-  
gent in the gouernemēt of your realm,  
that you thought it meete to appoint  
no punishmēt at al for that most dete-  
stable shop (as you cal it) of filthie vice?  
Wil you in that Iland, in the which a  
Queene (whome the king loued ve-  
rie well for her beawtie, witte, and  
courtelie behauieur) for the onelie  
suspicion of a great deale lighter of-  
fence then this is, was by the sentence  
of the iudges, at the commaunde-  
ment of the King him selfe her hous-  
band,

bande, openlie in the face of the world, by the hand of a hangman executed and beheaded: wil you, I saie, in that Iland suffer such heinouse offences, as are not to be named, to escape vnpunished, yea ad that in a kind of men, which are not only contemptible and abiecte, but also odious and hateful? It is not like.

Moreouer, this feare of pulling downe monasteries beganne not emōgest you, but you had it from other menne. For Carolstadius and Luther and other the head Sectaries attempted this goodlie enterprise firste of all: so that you maie not robbe them of the honour thereof, and take it to your selfe. It was not therefore the hatred of vncleane pleasure, but the example of these noble personages set out as a rule in this your new discipline and Religion, that stirred your mindes to the ouerthrowe of perpetual chastitie. Besides this, the grea-

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uous displeasure you had conceiued against the Bishoppe of Rome for entemedling and geauing sentence against you: the casting of your eyes vpon the goods and possessions, with the whiche the Mounkes liued: the flatterie of certaine naughtie and desperate fellowes: the sonde pleasure and appetite to make alterations and chaunges, helped the matter wel forward. In olde tyme emongest the Romaines ( whiche were men vtterly void of the light and knowledge of God ) the Virgins of Vesta were had in such estimation, that euerie man did geaue them the waie, the place, and seate, with verie great reuerence. And you haue disteined the Virgins of Christe with a notorious and perpetuall infamie. Those Virgins, because they mainteined the fier of Vesta, the citezins did not onely honour and attende vpon religiously, but also reuerenced their iudgementes: and you

you haue not suffered the holie virgins of Christe to keepe their virginitie solemnly vowed, to maintaine the euerlasting fier of heauenlie loue in their heartes enkindled. It was lawfull for those Virgins to marrie after thirtie yeares, and yet of their owne accord they did abstaine from marriage: you haue married the virgins of Christ, to whome it was in al ages vnlawful, to filthie ribaudes. Those virgins, if they were at anie tyme by intisement deflowred, they were buried aliue and so ended their life with a horrible kinde of death: and you haue taken them, whiche were dishonested ( as you saie ) with most vile brothelrie, and haue for punishment of so great a vice pleasauntly rewarded them with sporting and dalliaunce. And yet you say.

*Wherefore God hath stirred the harts of our men, that these so great bāds or cōpanies, which laie lurking in blind stinking*

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*corners, were through their godlie exhortations called forth, from idlenes to labour, from vice to vertue, from wicked broshetrie to most honest marriage.* You say, God hath stirred the heartes of our men. I would faine learne of you, what God that was. for there are manie, as S. Paule saith, that are called Goddes. For to some men the bellie is a God: to some other monie is a God: yea and to some riot and ruffling and hawtines is a God. I would therefore faine knowe, what God that was, that put it into the heartes of your menne, to abolishe and rake vp in the earth the loue of most holie and perpetuall chastitie. Was it Bacchus, or Cupide, or Mercurie? For of Christ the sonne of God, who is verie muche delyted in perpetuall chastitie and cleane life, I am right wel assured, that he neuer moued you to any such heinousse acte.

The idlenes, which you speake of,

was

was not a fruteles sitting stil, void of al holie workes, but it was a continuall exercise in the contemplation of godlie thinges.

As touching the most filthie brothelrie (as you cal it) you are in one sentence conuincd both of a lie, and of impudencie withall. For, if there had benne anie suche offence committed of them, you woulde not haue suffered it vnpounished. And then howe impudent and shamelesse you be, the forging of so filthie a crime dorth plainelie declare. It is not therefore true that you saie, that your doinges stande well with the profite of the common weale. But contrariewise you haue by violence and authoritie drawn out those bandes or companies (as you cal them) from holie quietnes to a busines defiled with wicked sacrilege: from the exercise of godlines, to the libertie of vice: from the discipline of per-

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petuall continencie to the bondage of  
moſte vncleane voluptuousneſſe.

Howe be it by this, I doe not excuſe  
your Religious menne. For it had  
ben muche better for them to ſuffer  
intolerable paines, yea and to let their  
lyues in tormentes, then to forſake  
their Faith, whiche they haue openly  
professed to Chriſte. For if they had  
withſtood your warninges and coun-  
ſell, your threatens and authoritie with  
good courage and conſtante heartes,  
dowbreſſe they had died an honou-  
rable death for the glorie of Chriſte.  
For you are wont to punniſh extreme-  
lie the chaſte and cleane lyfe: but fil-  
thie and vile brothelrie, as you con-  
feſſe your ſelfe, you are wonte mer-  
cifullie to pardonne. The Carthuſi-  
ans, moſte chaſte and holie Fathers,  
you put to death: but thoſe moſt wic-  
ked bandes and companies, as you  
terme them, you called ſoorth to be  
married,

married, and to liue in pleasure.

Wherefore there is no dowbr, but that, if your Mounkes had liued after S. Basiles rule, they had benne dispatched emongest you euerie one. And yet you glorie that by this your so goodlie an acte you are restored againe to libertie. As thoughe you vnderstoode, what thinge true libertie were. But of that we shall see hereafter. Nowe before I enter into that discourse, I wilbe so bolde as to demaunde of you one question.

This libertie of the gospel, whiche you haue alwaies in your mowth, doth it take place in all thinges, so, that it maie be lawfull for euerie man at al tymes to do what him listeth? Or els is it limited by some certaine rule of lawe and reason? As for example in Matrimonie. Shall it be laweful for the husband to put away his wife for euerie cause that hym lysteth

K iiii . to

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to alleage? No without doubt: For the euerlasting law of the Gospell will not beare it. It then the band of Matrimonic beinge once knitte by the mutuall consent of man and wife, can not be dissolued: by what meanes, I praie you, may that bande, with the which Virgins are willingly consecrated unto Christe with solemne ceremonies, and faithful promise, be broken by the presumption of menne, without great and heinouse offence? S. Paule commaunded Timothee to auoide yonge widowes. For when they haue liued rioteouslie, saith he, to the reproche of Christe, they will marrie. What then? Is it not lawefull for widowes to marrie? Doubtlesse it is lawfull. For the same S. Paule saith. If her husbande be a sleape, shee is free from the lawe of her husbande. Shee may marrie to whome shee will, onely in our Lorde.

If then it be lawfull for Widowes to  
marrie

marrie without sinne, what is the matter  
 that S. Paule findeth faulte with these  
 widowes, bicause they would marrie?  
 for he adderth, that they haue their dā-  
 natiō. Whie so I praie you? what haue  
 they donne? what offence haue they  
 cōmitted? Bicause they haue, saith he,  
 broken their first faith. what faith I be-  
 seke you? Expound the meaning of S.  
 Paule, if you can. What manner of pro-  
 mise was this, whiche the Widowes  
 haue broken with none other offence,  
 but bicause they would haue married.  
 Is it the promise, which they made to  
 their hous bandes, that they would ne-  
 uer spot the bed of wedlocke with ad-  
 ulterie? No. For of that promise they  
 were quite discharged by the death of  
 their hous bandes. Whie then it folo-  
 weth, that this promise was not made  
 to anie man, but to the sonne of God,  
 that they shoulde keepe the chastitie  
 both of bodie and mind perpetually to  
 his glorie. The whiche promise when  
 they

1. Tim. 5. b.



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they had decreed to breake, they did a greuous reproche, not to men, but to Christ him selfe. And therefore it seemed to the Apostle, that they had deserued, (as being condemned for the offence of a most wicked aduktery) not to be receiued into the cōpany of chaste widowes, but rather to be forebidden to enter into the church. And that you maie the more meruaile at it, note, that S. Paule saied not, that those widowes after the first mariage had married to other mē cōtrarie to their promise made, but onely that they would haue married: wherby it is geauen vs to vnderstand, that this religious promise is most wickedly and heinoussly broken by the onlie will and desire to be married againe. It was therfore lawfull for widowes to marrie, before they had promised and cōsecrated their chastitie vnto Christe, but after the time that the promise was past, it was no more lawfull. Now then sir: Think you that the offence of the Virgins is anie

thing lesse, which haue not only a desire to marrie, but doe marrie in deede to the great reproch of Christ? Doubtlesse it is farre greater: by so much as, it is a more wicked offence for an vndefiled virgin to plaie the harlot to the dishonour of Christe, then not to kepe the chastitie of a bodie, whiche is not vntowched. How long then lasteth this libertie? So long as it is in our free choise, to take what way we wil. But when we haue once either yoked our selues in matrimonie, or els offered vp our bodies by vow to serue God in religiō: as it is not laeful to break the promise of matrimony, so is it not lausful to violate the sacramēt of perpetual chastitie. And who so euer presumeth to doe it, cōmitteth a most wicked crime, that deserueth the iudgemēt and vengeance of God. He that hath cōstantly 1. Cor. 7. 8 determined in his heart, saith S. Paule, hauing no cōstreint, but hauing power ouer his owne wil, and hath aduisedly deter-

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determined in his hart to kepe his virgin, doth wel. He laieth no necessitie at al vpon vs : but by his authoritie approueth the wil of that man, which weying and considering the matter wel, and taking withall the will of the virgin (for otherwise it maie not be) dedicateth the said virgin vnto Christe, which he kepeth vnder his rule and power. But after the virgin hath once bound her selfe with the vowe of perpetual chastitie, S Paule saith not, that she is at her choise to marrie if she wil. For if he should so saie, he should speke verie muche against him selfe. But al these thinges are verie easily confuted in the opinion of such as are addicted to Luther. For it is not lawfull, say they, for any man to bind him selfe by vowe to that religion, which he is not able to kepe. And to resist the tyrannie of fleshlie lust, they saie, is graunted to no man. This is the talke of a mā not only incōtinent and dissolute, but also wickedly

kedly bent against God. For he distrusteth the goodnes and power of God, and measureth the strength of vertue and continencie, not by the almightines and power of God, but by his own weakenes and filthie appetit. And this is the propertie of al naughty felowes, by their owne beastly life to iudge the conuersation of other men. Nero was fully perswaded, that al men were as euil as him selfe, but that their vnbridled lust was restrained by the lacke of thinges, that it could not breake out at al times into deedes. And this opinion causeth, that when vicious men heare tel of anie man or woman that is verie continent, they doe not only not beleue it, but they wil deuise oftentimes some infamous crime to burden him withal. I graunt you thus muche, that neither Luther, nor Bucer, nor Zwinglius, nor Oecolampadius, nor Caluin, nor your Martyr him selfe was able to susteine the assault of the flesh. For the  
heauenly

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heauenly gifte of perpetual chastitie, is iustly denied to al suche, as haue most wickedly diuided them selues from the church. But vnto such as are within the boundes of holy Church, and are desirous to be ioyned with most seruient loue to Christ the chiefe and principal worker of honestie and holines, for so much as they are sensed on euerie side with the strong bulwarke of God, it is very easie to put fleshlie pleasure to flight, to pul vp the verie strings and rootes of al vncleane vice. Otherwise S. Paule had neuer geanen counsel to virgins to continew in the state of virginitie: he had neuer said, that they were farre happiest of al other, that folowed the cleanes of his life: he had neuer condēned widowes, only for that they had a wil, to be married contrary to their promise: he had neuer preferred the state of Virgins before widowhod: no our Lord him selfe had neuer approued that kind of  
gel.

1. Cor. 7. b

1. Tim. 5. b

1. Cor. 7. g

geldinges, whiche haue gelded them Math. 19.  
 selues for the kingdom of heauen. And <sup>b.</sup>  
 yet wil you here lament (like a Popular  
 felowe, a restorer of libertie) the  
 wretched bōdage of those virgins that  
 desire to serue Christ more painfully  
 and more chastly, then you doe. You  
 are altogether ignorāt, what libertie is,  
 which doe condemne the most excel-  
 lent kind of liberty, calling it bondage.  
 For if it be true libertie to doe, what  
 fleshlie lust cōmaundeth, what naugh-  
 tines forceth, what wrathfulnes mo-  
 ueth, what hatred perswadeth, what  
 the mad rage of a wilful and headlong  
 mind driueth a man to deuise and doe:  
 then I graunt you, that they are bond-  
 men, which haue crucified their affe-  
 ctions, and haue fastened them selues  
 with such streight bandes vnto Christ,  
 that they can not be tossed to and fro  
 with the swaie of pestilēt and filthy lu-  
 stes. But if libertie be a power of that  
 part of the minde, which hath the rule <sup>True lib-</sup>  
 bertie, <sup>and</sup>

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and gouernment, and tendeth to come to that end, to the which both the excellencie of natural inclination, and also the likenes of God in the mind calleth it: I would learne of you, whome you thinke to be more free: that woman, that being, as it were, pulled in sunder with a thousand diuers busines, serueth alwaies with great care her husband, her children, and her familie: or her, that being discharged of all these troubles, casteth her selfe downe at the feete of Christ, and hath no more but one onely care, how she may at all times singularly wel please Christ her heauenly spouse. That woman, whome the force of pleasure being by law permitted, yea and of dewtie required, constreinet oftentimes to forget heauenly thinges: or her, whome no force of pleasure is able (so long as she is bound vnto Christe) to hinder from the cōtemplation of God. Finally, that woman, who is thorough

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the loue of her husband drawen two  
waies, or her, which hath set her whol  
loue vpon the beawtie of Christ. Who  
can denie, but that liberty is then geue  
to the mind in dede, when reason bea-  
reth rule in all the state of the minde ?  
Whervpō it foloweth, that where rea-  
son keepeth downe the fleshlie lustes  
most, ther is the mind freest. Wherefore  
it must needes be, that the frutesfull li-  
bertie whiche you haue vnseasonably  
brought forth for holie Virgins and  
Monkes, against all right and reason,  
against the holie order of Christian re-  
ligion, is no libertie at al, but a detesta-  
ble and pitifull bondage. We haue been  
somewhat long in the confirmatiō of  
this part, bicause I sawe, that vpon this  
lewd point was laied the verie foun-  
datiō and growndworke of al Luthers  
most pestilent doctrine . For this holie  
chaplain of Venus (I meane not Venus  
of Cyprus nor Paphos, nor Ericine, but  
Venus the Regēt of hel ) when he had

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most filthylie spotted him selfe with leacherie and ribawdrie, he thought that not ynough, but vled violent perswasions with to manie as were of his retinew, to doe the like. And as we reade in Euripedes, that Venus tooke great displeasure, bicause she was despised of Hippolitus, and therefore deuised craftily, to sende certaine monstrous sea-calues out of the sea, to gallowe his chariot horses by the whiche traine Hippolitus was for the onlie loue of chastitie, torne al in peeces and cruelly flaine: euen so hath this hellish Venus pricked foreward Luther and Carolstadius, and the reste of these horrible monsters, not against anie one chaste man, but against chastitie it selfe, meaning by them vtterly to abolish out of the wordle that heauenly example of chastitie, of honestie, and of virginie.

Moreouer ther was a bitter hatred cōceined against the Bishop of Rome, whose state Luther ymagined might  
by

by this goodlie pollicie be verie much weakened.

Last of al Luther, according to the diuels phyfick (who vſeth to cure one euell diſeaſe with an other woorſe) deuised to heale the infamie of incontinnencie with impietie and miſbelceſe: to thintent that, when he had perſwaded al ſuch as folowed him, that it was not only lawfull and honeſt, but alſo that very dewtie and godlines, yea and neceſſitie it ſelfe required, that al Nunnes and Mōkes ſhould be married, there ſhould no man be able to blame him for his incontinent and vicious liuing. The verie ſame trade and waie haue you takē, folowing the ſteppes of your maiſter, to abolish al good affection towards perpetual chaſtitie: and now, that, that was verie vngodly and heinouſly done, you defende it to be done, for godlie and iuſt cauſes. To ſlide and fall procedeth of the weakeneſſe of man, and to continewe in anie

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vice il begonne, is an argument of an vnbridled mind and vnrule affections. But to reioise and glorie in wickednes, and to geue the name of honestie and godlines to most filthie vices, is so presumptuous and horrible offence, that it cā not by wordes be expressed. And yet bicause I did in my letters but only lament this so great a ruine and decate of religiō, you laie out against me with open mowth. And yet you make outcries, and in so doing you woulde be taken for an ernest and vehemēt man. And yet you wold beare men in hād, that the thinges that you haue done for hatred, malice and rashnes, were done charitably, prouidently, and aduisedly. You saie.

*Out vpon this ouer malepart and licētiousse desire, which you haue to peruert all thinges. I saie on the other side. Out vpō your barbarous and crewel boldnes. Out vpon your intolerable impudēcie. Out vpō your most wicked and*  
*deuillish*

deuillish practises, deuised and wronght  
by the labour, studie, and diligence of  
Satan. What rage hath so driuen you,  
what madnes hath so stirred you, that  
you durst set vpon so wicked an en-  
terprise? For you haue made open  
warres against honestie and chastitie:  
you haue furiously brokē into the holy  
Monasteries: you haue ouerthrowen  
bashfulnes, honestie, and continencie;  
you haue chased awaie that most ex-  
cellent loue of perpetual virginitie:  
you haue geuen the goods of religions  
personnes to whome you listed: and  
now, when you triumph at the fall of  
chastitie and Religion, you so vaune  
your selues in it, as though you had by  
this noble victorie, gotten euerlasting  
fame and honour.

Now foloweth the disputation of  
the pulling downe of Images, whiche Imager.  
you like verie well, and are offended  
with me, bicause I should saie, that  
when the images are takē awaie, there

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is nothing left, wherby the mind might be stirred vppo to thinke vpon godlie thinges. The which I neuer spake. For there are manie other thinges, whiche you haue ouerthrowen together with the ymages, that moue our mindes more vehemently then they doe. But this much I saied: For so much as Images are verie good and effectuell to bring al men, especially the vnlearned, to the remembraunce of the wonderful vertue, which shone sometimes in the holy Saintes: and it were expediēt that the benefit of Christ should be represented vnto vs by al signes, in al places: it was wickedly done of them, that pulled downe Crosses and Images. For we doe neither praie, nor offer, nor sacrifice vnto them: but we are by them put in remembraunce of those thinges that are of dew to be worshipped. *It is,* saie you, *against the expresse commaundment of God.* I would your doctours would instructe you better in Diuinitie,

nitie, that you might no more babble  
 out such childish toyes. Tell me, I  
 praie you, haue you neuer read, that  
 there were in the tabernacle of God,  
 Images of Cherubines set before the  
 Arke of promise? The veile, whiche  
 diuided the inner part from the reste <sup>Exod. 25.</sup>  
 of the tabernacle, was is not wrought <sup>b.</sup>  
 betwene, with manie Images of Che- <sup>Numer.</sup>  
 rubines? Was there not made the <sup>2. b.</sup>  
 Image of a Serpent in brasse by the  
 commaundement of God in the wil-  
 dernes, vpon the whiche, suche as  
 were bitten of serpentes, looked, and  
 were healed? What Images then hath  
 God forbidden to be made? Those  
 Images without dowbre, by the  
 whiche men blinded with synne went  
 abowte to expresse a thinge, that  
 can neither be deuised, nor painted,  
 nor engrauen, nor expresse wyth  
 woordes, nor conceiued with the  
 heart, that is, the infinite Maiestie of  
 God. Besides this, there was greate

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daunger, lest the people being now acquainted with the manners of the Aegyptians, being also abowt to goe into a land, which was infected with the selfe same errours, might through familiaritie and neighbourhood of these vngodlie nations, fall into the like errour, and offer vp sacrifice vnto goddes made of stockes and stones: or at the least make the ymages of some naughty and vile men, and set them vp in the place of God. The feare of this daunger caused manie thinges to be taken quite awaie, which had ben otherwise lawfull and tolerated. The ymage of the brasen serpent was diligently kept, as a goodlie monument of the benefite of God, and singular sacrament of the saluation to come. But after manie yeares, when the people were come to such madnes, that they thought there had benne some diuinitie in the ymage, and therfore offered sacrifice vnto it: it was by the holie

holie King Ezechias broken and made into powder. Shew you now, that we doe goe about to expresse the nature of God by signes, or that we thinke that ther is anie godhead in dome images, and then may you wel conuince vs of blindnesse and folie. So long as you doe not this, there is no cause, whie you should feare the dotage of idolatrie (as you terme it) or laie blindnesse to our charge with suche monstrous wordes. For we doe that, that is by right and reason ordeined, by the holie Church approved, by sentence of holy Fathers determined. *The gospel, say you, commaundeth vs to abstaine from Images.* That is true. But what must we vnderstand to be ordeined by this commaundement? For sooth this, that no man should offer vp sacrifice to Images, or for anie pretense of religion, make as though he did follow the errour, that was in other men. For the faithfull men were not

4. Reg.  
18. 4.



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not then commaunded to ouerthrow  
and breake their Images, but to for-  
sake the detestable Sacrifices. More-  
ouer, what Images were those? Of  
Iuppiter, Apollo, Minerua, Mars,  
and Mercurie, and other the like  
Goddess, which were thought of old  
time to be verie true goddess in deede.  
But we doe neither offer vp sacrifice  
vnto idols, neither doe we thinke the  
Images of vncleane and vicious men  
to be worthe of any reuerence in the  
world. You say afterward.

*But this feare being taken awaie, yet  
must the doctrine of Christ haue ful au-  
thoritie amongst Christian men: in the  
which it is plainlie said, that God is a spi-  
rite, and that the true order of praying  
to God is, to worship him in spirite and  
trewth. Of like we know not that, M.  
Haddon, and therefore doe we make  
God like a man both in bodie and mā-  
ners. Would God, you had learned,  
what it is to worship God in spirite,  
and*

and then had you neuer fallē into such vngodly opinions. You say, that the true ordre of praying nedeth not these helpes of outward thinges. Although you and such as you are, hauing nowe waded so farre in the exercise of spiritual life, neede not these outwarde helpes, but may without them presse euen to the throne of God: yet should you remembre, that there are manie, that are not yet come to so high a degree of heauenlie perfection as you be, and therefore haue neede to be holpen by all meanes possible. *Not so, saie you, but rather while our outwarde man is so muche occupied in these shadowes of holie thinges, the seruencie of the minde waxeth colde within.* Not so, M. Haddon, but rather while the minde waxeth colde within, it is, by these outwarde representations of holie thinges, to be stirred vp, to remembre those thinges that were forgotten. for, as Dionysius

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teacheth vs, so long as we are inclosed within the frame of this bodie, and can not altogether withdrawe our minde from the acquaintance of the bodie, we are to be stirred vp nowe and then by bodilie Images to the remembrance of the inuisible God. This notwithstanding you goe forewarde, and saie.

*Let vs put examples. The old Church of the Apostles and Martyrs had none of all these monumentes, and yet was their spirite moſte earnestly inflamed with the loue of God. In the wane of pure Religion pictures crope in by litle and litle, and so appalled in the heartes of men that former boyling heat of Religion. Not so fir, but then were Images and pictures necessarie, to stirre vp againe by al meanes the feruencie of religion, which was, as you say, appalled. For so long as the Image of the Crosse was printed and engraue in the hearts of all men, this multitude of Images was*

was not so necessarie. But you doe much like, as if a man should say, that the remedies of diseases were the causes of diseases. for the picture did not cause men to forgette holie thinges: but rather it was wisely deuised, that men might not forgette them. If the vse of Images quenched, as you saie, that seruēcie of spirit, with the which men were inflamed in the olde tyme: then must it needes folow, that, when Images were first ouerthrowē of you, you were by and by verie hote in spirite. Tel me therefore, if it please you: When you first brake downe the Images, tables and other monumentes of Saintes: when you defaced them, māgled them, and dashed them in a thousand peeces: when you burned the relikes of the most holie Martyr S. Thomas: was there foorthwith enkindled in you so great a heat as you speake of? were you by and by wholly inflamed with fier from heauen? I beleeeue there  
fel

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fell from aboue , not onely fierietongues, but also fierie heartes and bowelles, the heate and flames whereof wrought with you so extremely, that you are not able by any meanes to abide this straunge force of loue, which burneth within you. Neither do you now liue vpon the earth, but in hearte and mind you are in heauen. For euen as vpon the ouerthrow of the authoritie of the bishop of Rome, ther arose out of hand a new sonne emōgest you: so must it nedes folow, that vpon the pulling downe of Images, vppon the breaking of the monumētes of Christ crucified, vpon the digging vp of the graue of the holy Martyr, and burning of his bones: you cōceiued soorthwith such a fier of heauenly loue in your bowelles, that there is nothing in the world to be seene in your heartes, but only that same hoat and fiērie loue of God. If it be so, I commend the vehemencie of your spirite, I allowe your  
doing,

doing, I thinke, this worthie acte of yours deserueth immortall fame and honour. for what so euer quencheth the seruencie of the spirite, what so euer doth any thing breake or weaken the force of loue, it would be put back with the whole bent of the hart. Neither ought we to beare anie thing in the world, that might cause a dulnes or slakenes in the minde. But if it be nothing so, if, after the breaking downe and defacing of the goodlie monumentes of vertue, you were not inflamed by and by with fier from heauen: then it is most euident, that the Images and reliques of holie men buried vnder the grownde, did nothing hinder you from that seruent loue of God. Whie then, what (the diuell) madnes came into your heads, that you should be so earnestly bent to make a waste and spoile of thinges, whereof you could take no commoditie in the worlde?

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At the length, you speake verie earnestly (as you doe often) against the diuinitie of the schoole doctours, wherein I can not much blame you: for you haue good cause to be offended with them, whole whole drifts both of mindes and disputation is altogether against you. For they haue receiued a pure and true Doctrin from holie men: you haue taken a pudlie and stinking doctrine of most wicked persons. They are bound to the verie auncient Religion, that was deliuered from the Apottles: you falling from the auncient religion, are wickedly flitted to this new fangled secte. They, for the most part of them, doe worship Christ with honest conuersation and vpright cōscience: but you haue done and spoken manie thinges verie impudentlie and rashly, to the reproche and dishonour of Christ. Nowe whereas you impute the cause of Images to them, you shew your selfe to be not only verie

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ry shamelesse, but also very witleffe. for you doe not accompt emongest the schoole Doctours Cyrillus or Athanasius, or Ierome, or Ambrose, or Augustine. Whome then? Dowbtlesse such as folowed Petrus Lombardus, and beganne manie yeares after his tyme to expound openly in schooles his Sentences (as they cal them) gathered out of the bookes of the holie Fathers, and brought into one volume. Petrus Lombardus flourished about the yeare of our Lord. 1141. And the second Council of Nice was kept in the yeare. 781. Neither was it firste decreed in that councel, that Images shuld be set vp, but that they should not be pulled down. And the heresie of such as would haue them to be ouerthrowen, was there condemned by the ful agreement of al the fathers. Of the which errour, as it appeared by the testimonials brought into the Council, the firste brochers were certaine Manichees and Mar-



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cionistes. It was there declared at that time, by the authoritie of Basile, Gregorie of Nissa, Cyril, Ierom, Augustin, and by the custome receiued in the Church euen from the Apostles time: that the Images of Christ, of his most blessed Mother, and of other holie men had ben set vp, vpon a great good consideration, to call the mindes of men continually to remembre the goodnes of God. In the selfe same Council also, was read an oratio of Athanasius, of a miracle, whiche was wrought at Berith a citie of Syria, when certaine Iewes pearced the Image of Christe with a speare. For out of the wound flowed out bloud, whervpō the Iewes were turned vnto Christe. And although in the Apostles time, suche signes were nothing necessarie, and as then it was not lawfull through the tyrannie of Princes to builde Churches, and to bewtifie them with comely ornaments: yet doe the auncient monu-

mentes

mentes declare, that euen at that time there was some vse of Images. As for the Images of the Crosse, there is no doubt, for so much as the most aunciēt monumentes both of Aethiopia and India make mention of them.

The Image of the Crosse. 2

In that part of India, which is within the riuers Indus and Ganges towards the east, there is a towne called Mailapur, and belongeth to the great kingdō of Narsingua, where the bodie of S. Thomas was buried. Ther, not many yeares ago, was digged out by the prouidēce of God a great Crosse made of stone: whose top and both sides, an arke hewen out of the same stone couered: wherein were engrauen letters of verie great antiquitie, whiche no man could reade but such as were lerned in the aunciēt letters of the Bracmans. The meaning of the letters, as it was afterwarde founde, was a storie of the death of S. Thomas: whiche declared, howe a holie man named

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Thomas, in the time of King Sangam ruler of those landes, was sent of the sonne of God to visite those countreis, and to bring the people vnto the knowledge of God: and how the enemies of religion crucified him vpon the same Crosse. And the Crosse euen at this daie is smeared with spottes of blood.

Eusebius also writeth, that, in a citie called Philips Cesarea, there was a brasen Image of Christ set vpon a foote, of a good heith, and before it an other Image of a woman, the whiche being sometime sicke of a bloudie fluxe, was cured by the benefit of our Lord. This Image was made in manner of a woman suppliant and holding vpper her handes vnto the Image of Christ. He declareth furthermore, that neere vnto the foote of the said Image there was wont to growe a certaine kind of herbe, the which when it was growe so high, that it touched the hemme of  
che

the garment of Christ, it conceiued a great vertue, and was verie soueraigne against diuers and sundrie diseases. The selfe same Eusebius reporteth, that he him selfe had seene the Images of the Apostles excellently wel painted, the which manner he comendeth highly.

It is also writen that Constantine the Emperour sawe in a vision Peter and Paule, whose Images when he beheld afterwarde, being shewed vnto him by Syluester the Pope, resembling in al pointes that, that he had seene, he was excedingly astoined.

What saie you M. Haddon? Are you not athamed of your ignorance? It is euident, that there were Images set vp in places of common resort, euē in the times of holie men ( which you graunt to be happie tymes) especially after it was lawfull to buyld great and sumptuous Churches: it is euident, that they were misliked and resisted of verie olde heretikes, and worthely main-

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teined by most excellent men both for  
 holines and learning: finally it is euident  
 that the second Councel of Nice ac-  
 cursed and excōmunicated al suche as  
 dyd condemne the Images of holie  
 men, and the monumētes of Christ: and  
 wil you vnaduisedly ascribe the cause,  
 and original of them vnto the schoole-  
 doctours, which beganne to dispute of  
 diuinitie in schooles manie yeares, yea  
 many hundred yeares after that tyme?  
 what dulnes is this? what negligence?  
 what ignorance of antiquitie? But  
 to let passe your ignorance in stories,  
 what maie be said of your vndiscreete  
 boldnes in these your doinges? For  
 whereas Images are so effectuall in  
 bringing vs to the remembrance of  
 thinges, that euē thei that reade bokes  
 continually, that serue God with great  
 seruencie, that may be brought to re-  
 membre heauenly thinges by many o-  
 ther monumentes, yet are they cheer-  
 fully preuoked to the loue of godlines,  
 by

by looking vpon the outward signes  
of heauēly thinges, and Images of ho-  
lie men: what came into your heades,  
to pul away frō the vnlearned people,  
which haue not so many staies to lean  
vnto, these healpes and succour of me-  
morie, these monumentes of perfecte  
religion? For (to passe ouer with silēce  
al other monumentes) where shal you  
find one emongest an hundred, that is  
not moued by looking vpo the Image  
of Christ nailed on the Crosse? that is  
not inwardly stirred to deuotiō by the  
remembrance of so great goodnes and  
mercie of God? that is not sometime  
wholly molten and resolued into  
teares? Wherefore then will you  
take awaie from the vnlearned and  
weake, this goodlie healpe, with the  
whiche, the learned them selues, yea  
and suche as are well hardened in the  
exercise of godlinesse, are oftentimes  
moued? Especially, for so much as you  
are neuer the seruenter in faith and  
M iiii charitie,

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charitie, after this your so honorable  
an enterprife, for the which you take  
so much vpon you.

But how wittily you conclude all  
this question with a twoforked argu-  
ment, saying, that our pictures, if the  
spirite be present, neede not: if it be  
absent, they boore not. Not so sir, but  
if the spirite be present, they doe no  
hurt, if it be absent, thei maie do much  
good. For what so euer reneweth in  
vs the remembrance of the goodnes  
and mercie of God, profiteth vs not a  
litle, and prepareth the waie verie  
wel to attaine to the grace  
of the spirite it  
selfe.

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THE

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## BOOKE.



**I**N good faith I am ashamed to vse so many wordes in the confutation of that your booke, for the which you stoode so muche in your owne conceite. But for so much as you haue hudled vp together so manie things in it, whiche I must nedes laie abroad ech thing by it selfe, I could not comprise so manie and so diuers pointes of vngodlines and heresie in fewe wordes.

But to come vnto other matters, you meruaile, that I should lament in those my letters, that all holie thinges, ceremonies, godlie custumes, solemne feastes, and Sacramentes of Religion were vtterly decaied. You saie therefore. *What doe I heare? Is it like that there*



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*there should liue anie kind of professors of Diuinitie in the Christian worlde, the which would vtterly abolishe holy things, ceremonies, and all Sacramentes of the Church?* By these your wordes, M. Haddon, a man maie coniecture, that it were such a horrible acte to doe it, that the verie remembrance of it maketh you to tremble and quake. For you thinke it a thing impossible, that anie man (which is called by the name of a Christian) shoulde be so wicked and barbarous, so farre from true faith and religion, so spitefully bent against al godlines, that he would goe abowt to dishonest, to depraue, to corrupte and deface the solemne custumes of the Church, the religious vsage of holie things, the inuiolable reuerence of ceremonies. Looke what you graunt vs we take it, and we thinke you to be worthie of no meane commendation, bicause you thinke that their offence is not meane, which do despise auncient

ancient ceremonies. Otherwise you would not haue asked with a certaine admiration, whether there were anie kind of professors of Diuinitie in the Christian worlde, that would commit an offence so wicked and barbarous. And although you vsed craft, whereas you saied, that the ceremonies were not al ouerthrowen) as though it were no fault to take awaie some, and to retaine some): yet I doubt not, but when it shal appeere euidently, that the verie principal sacramentes haue ben quite ouerthrowē by such as beare the name of Christian men, it shal seeme euen to you a very horrible offence. You meruel (and not without cause) at the gretnes of their heinouse act. But I meruail exceedingly, not at the wicked acte of a sort of desperat felowes, but at the folly of a graue and wise mā. What say you? Are you only ignorāt in al Christendō, what hath ben done? Are you only a straūger and vnacquainted in matters  
so

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so notoriously well known? Heard you neuer saie, how Luther a passing holie man (as you thinke) hath geauen a prowd saie to plucke awaie al the sacramentes of the church? Neither can it be saied, that he keepeth the sacramētes, the which wickedly and lewdly appaireth the vertue and strength of them. If you neuer vnderstoode this, what saie you to that? heard you neuer tel, that Carolstadius, Zwinglius, Oecolampadius, and last of all your owne Martyr (to passe ouer a great nombre of others) did rent and teare the blessed Sacrament of the aulter with most vile and reprochful wordes? It islike you neuer heard of it. For how had it ben possible, that M. Had- don a chaste and vpright man, a mā most zealously bent towards religion, (if he had vnderstoode, that Peter Martyr had ben disteined with so fowle a crime) could haue fownd in his heart, I saie not to commend him, but only  
to

to bid him good morrow after a familiar and frindlie sort? Tush, saie you, this is al false. For they keepe their sacramentes still, and we vse the selfe same sacramentes with al our heartes. For sooth I am right glad of it, and I praie God, much good maie it do you. How beit I would faine know, what is to be vnderstāded, by the sacramēts, whiche you keepe stil. Are they only bare Images of thinges? Or is there some diuine power or vertue mingled withal? If they be only bare Images, is it not a shame for men, whiche are now past al earthlie consecutiōs, which with pure mindes talke with the sprite without anie messengers betwene, to vse Images? For what skilleth it, what manner of Images they be? Truth it is, that there are Images, which doe consist both of wordes and bodilie thinges, and such are much lesse stable and permanent, then those whiche you haue ouerthrowen. If you saie, that they  
haue

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haue anie strength or power rowardes saluation: it is not possible, that anie thing shoulde healpe towards saluation, whiche is void of the grace and mercie of Christ. But Luther denieth, that the grace of Christ is procured by them. Wherupō it foloweth, that ther is contained in them no sownd fruite of iustification, but onlie bare Images and tokens. And therfore it is to no purpose for you to keepe them, if you beleue Luther. But bicause it were tedious to make a discourse vpon all the rest of the Sacramētes I wil speake only of two, which are of gret weight and importaunce towards saluation. The one is the confession of synnes, wherein is contained the sacrament of penance: (it maie please your fine and piked eloquence to beare with these termes of plaine schoolemen) the other is the Sacrament of the Aulter.

Confessio  
on,

And to speake somewhat first of Confession, I saie and affirme, that there is no remedie appointed in the

Church so effectually to put awaie the  
diseases of the soule, and to recouer  
the health thereof by the grace of  
Christ, as confession is. The whiche  
we prooue by reason, and trie also by  
daile experience. I saie nothing here,  
how in the time of the old lawe, in the  
sacrifices which were oftentimes of-  
fered vp for the purgation of synnes,  
there was a certaine confession of vn-  
cleane life made vnto the Priestes. Nei-  
ther do I think it needefull to rehearse  
in this place, how earnestly such as came  
to the baptisme of Iohn, did first con-  
fesse their sinnes. Neither wil I declare  
as now what is writen in the Actes of  
the Apostles as towching confession of  
synnes, which was made vnto the dis-  
ciples of Christe by suche as became  
Christians. That commaundemēt also  
of S. Iames concerning confession I  
wil passe ouer with silence. Neither  
wil I here alleage those place in the  
which Christ hath most vndoubtedly  
com-

Num. 5. 6

Math. 3. 6

Act. 19. 4.

Iacob. 5. 8

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committed the rule and iurisdiction of  
fowles vnto the Priestes, the whiche,  
as you know verie well by the studie  
of the law, can not be executed, with-  
out the examination of the cause.

The pro-  
fit of cō-  
fession.

This one thing wil I saie, that the pro-  
fite of this wholesome cōfession is so  
great, that anie wise man maie easily  
coniecture, without anie testimonials,  
that it was ordeined by the prouident  
wil and bountiful mercie of the holie  
Ghoste. For first of al, how much the  
knowledge of euerie mans owne selfe  
auaileth to saluation, it can not wel be  
expressed with wordes. For euen as  
selfe ignorāce blindeth the mind with  
errours, and maketh it prowd and in-  
solent: so doth the remembrance of  
the wekenes and miserie of man bring  
men to the learning of wisdome. Fur-  
thermore, for so much as no man can  
atteine the grace of God, except he  
doe firste lowly abbase and plucke  
downe his minde: there is nothing to  
be

be regarded with greater care, studie, and diligence of such as desire to get the grace of Christ, then a most fervent loue and earnest desire to come vnto this vertue of humilitie, in the which resteth the verie foundatiō of Christian pietie. And this humilitie is caused in vs by setting before our eyes the deformitie of our synnes, by shame which riseth in vs by beholding the illfaouerednes of then, by dew consideration of the daunger, into the which we ranne headlong. But al these things are contained in the confession of our wickednes and synnes. For confession containeth in it selfe a discrete examination and acknowleging of our selues, a learning of humilitie and modestie, a bashful rehearsal of the synne committed, a feare of the daunger hanging ouer our heades. By this confession, such as lie downe, are stirred vp: suche as be faint, are cheered foreward: such as be prowd, are pulled downe: such as

Humilitie

N

be



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be vnlearned, are instructed wyth  
wholesome lessons. And this is well  
known, that when the time draweth  
nere in the which confession is to be  
made, men are more modest and cōti-  
nent then at other times. And the har-  
der it is to bring manie men vnto it,  
the better it is seene, that it was orde-  
ned by the prouidence of God. For  
whereas there is naturally in al men a  
certaine loue of honestie, and a care-  
ful desire to conceale dishonestie, no  
man could be brought to open the de-  
formitie of his sinnes vnto Priestes, vn-  
lesse he were driuen therevnto by or-  
der, disposition, power and wil of the  
holie Ghost. Moreouer what stronger  
bridle can be deuised to assuage and  
represe the haughtinesse of men of  
power, to restraigne and moderate  
their rash and wilfull presumptuous-  
nes? For we see the highest Princes,  
when they haue caste them selues  
downe at the fete of the Priestes, to  
be

be fore afraied of their rebukes, to be  
 reftreigned by their lawes, to be instru-  
 cted by their aduertisementes, to be  
 reclaimed by their commaundemētes  
 frō vnlawfull luft and libertie to good  
 order and ciuilitie. This Sacramēt cau-  
 seth bashfulnes, it draweth out teares,  
 yt endeth aduouteries, yt restorēth  
 money embeseled, it quencherh ha-  
 tred, yt maketh peace, yt quieteth  
 rage, it setteth in comelic order the  
 whole conuerſation of the inwarde  
 man. But now, if a man not conten-  
 ting him ſelfe to be confessed once in  
 the yeare, wil oftentimes confesse all  
 the vncleanes of his minde, wil exa-  
 mine his consciēce diligently, to the  
 end that he maie cōfesse with the gre-  
 ter fruit, wil keepe an earnest bartail  
 against synne: he shal see a dailie amē-  
 demēt in him ſelf, with a more cleane,  
 chaste and vpright conuerſation. I take  
 Iesus Christ my Lord and my God to  
 witnesse, that by the often coming

The ef-  
 fecter of  
 cōſeſſion.

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to this most wholesome confession I haue risen and escaped from a merue-  
lous nombre of sinnes. In so much that,  
if I haue at anie time repressed the ple-  
sure of the flesh, if I haue despised vn-  
cleane lustes, if I haue ben earnestly  
bent towards the loue of chaste life, if  
I haue ben enkedled with anie sparcle  
of the loue of God: I maie thanke this  
Sacrament of it, by the whiche the  
holie Ghost hath imparted vnto me a  
great deale of his mercie and goodnes.  
Neither haue I only receiued this so  
great commoditie of confession, but  
whome so euer I do see geauen to this  
most holie exercise, (of the whiche  
there is a meruelouse nombre emon-  
gest vs) I perceiue that they are deli-  
uered from al worldlie pleasures, that  
they flourish in all vertues, and that  
they become better and better dailie,  
to the great wonder of manie men.  
And this is that, that moueth me to vse  
moste earnest perswasions with my  
sub.

subiectes, to induce them to resort oftentimes to confession: wherof I receiue no smal profite. For manie of them haue nowe withdrawn them selues from the companie of vnchast women, manie haue remoued them selues from exactinge of vsurie, manie haue recōciled them selues vnto such, as they did beare mortal hatred vnto. And I know, that emongest vs, many worthie Bishops both for learning and vertue doth the like. Neither are we such as can contēt our selues with the confession of synnes only, but we require also the fruites of penance, the whiche we are wont to call satisfactions, how so euer it plesē your maisters to scorne and scoffe at that word. But beleue me, we are nothing troubled with the laughter of vngodlie mē. We herken to S. Iohn, which commaūded such as had alreadie confessed their synnes to doe the worthy fruites of penāce. We willingly receiue the selfe

Satisfacti  
on.

Math. 3. 6

N. iij

same

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same wordes pronouncd and repeated by that most high maister of iustice, the redeemer of mankind. For while we obei the commaundemētes of Christe, we so litle esteeme the tauntes and scoffes of lewd felowes, that we are not only not moued with their reprochful talke, but also we reioise exceedingly in it.

Now then, seing that this sacramēt is of so great importaunce to saluatiō; seing that we see so great fruiete to be gathered out of it, if we doe seruently desire the saluation of al men: can you blame me, if I sorow and lament, that this great gate of saluatiō is closed vp to manie Christians through the lewdnes and misbelese of a few men? I talk not with you now, for so much as you kepe, as you saie your selfe, the sacramentes of the Church. But if some man of an other disposition shal be so crewell and vngodlie, that he wil attempre

tempte to damme vp this waie to saluation, casting before it piles or heapes of earth, wil you suffer it? Will you, seeing such a detestable offence, so refraine your selfe, that you wil not crie out vpon it? Blame not me then, if I doe, as you your selfe wil doe, if it be true, that you saie, that you doe keepe and obserue diligently the sacramētes of the church. But if you speake otherwise then truth, I will not much meruaile at it, for your doctours are excellent framers, not only of impietie, but also of vanitie.

But you will saye peraduenture, that muche euyll and myschiese ariseth by the occasion of this confession. If it be so, it is not muche to be merueiled at. For there is nothing in the worlde soo holye, the whiche men agreed in wickednesse maie not abuse to naughtines and mischiese. But it foloweth not by and by, that for the defaulte of a fewe lewde

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personnes, thinges ordeined of God for the saluation of men should, be vterly cast awaie. For so, ther had ben no good thing left this daie in the worlde. For al thinges, that are by nature wholesome, are vnto corrupt and vicious men hurtful and pestilent. And to let passe all other thinges, howe manie men are wont to abuse the verie mercie of God, when he differeth to punish them for synne, to the increase of their damnation? And yet is not God for all that remoued from his good will and purpose to deale mercifully with vs.

But some will saie: we confesse vnto God only. Yea, but God, for so much as he can not be perfectly seene of vs, hath appointed his Deputies vpon the earth, to exercise his authoritie and iurisdiction, to threaten and feare, to geaue gentle admonitions, to encourage, to raise vppe, to geaue sentence: in so much that, who so  
euer

so euer doth despise them, are to be taken (and that for great good cause) as though they did despise God him self, and refuse his order and commaundement. Furthermore it were dangerous to leaue euerie man to his owne wil in this case. For howe manie shall you find, that shalbe able to search out and consider their owne synnes? that wil confesse them with such shamefastnes and contrition of heart, as Dauid saith is a moste acceptable Sacrifice vnto God? that wil geaue sentence lawfully vpon them selues, for that they are in their owne causes verie parciall iudges? It remaineth therefore, that he, that lyueth not vnder the obedience of the Church, and wil not abide the iudgement of a Priest: neither would he at anie tyme be confessed of his synnes vnto God, as he ought to be. Dowbtlesse Basile the great sawe ful wel, what profite ariseth by this confession, when in his Ethikes he ascribed



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cribed vnto it the very beginning and foundation of iustice. So thought Origen, when he willed vs that we shuld not delaie it from daie to daie : but so soone as we were fallen , we should forthwith haue recourse vnto the Priest . Such was the iudgement of all holie men, the which exhort vs so often to this godly exercise. Neither did the bishop of Rome first ordeine this Sacrament : but being before ordeined and commonly receiued , he decreed verie prouidently, that it should be put in vre at the least once in the yeare, lest it might be neglected to the great decaie of godlines .

*Esa. 11. b.*

But to cōclude this matter, I would faine learne of you, howe you thinke that place of Esaie to be vnderstanded, where he saith, that it shall come to passe after the birth of Christe , that a wained child shal thrust his hand into the Cockatrice hole, and pul him out. If you wil folow the Iewes, you shall vnder-

vnderstand it thus: that euen as the Poetes reporte, that Hercules being yet in his cradle caught twoo great snakes that were sent vnto him by Iuno, and dasht them together: so thal euery sucking babe take venemous serpentes in his handes out of their holes and kil them. But if you wil expound the place like a Christian man, by the children you muste vnderstande those menne, to whome Christe hath geauen power to treade vppon serpentes and scorpions, that is to saie, vppon the beastlines of synnes, vpon the crafte and creweltie of Diuelles, that lie lurking in the secrete couerte of fowles. And although they be simple as children, yet are they endowed with suche great power and strength, that they can easilie pull ownt those vipers out of the mooste priuie corners and innermost creekes of mennes heartes and kill them, that they may not infecte and poison such,

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as haue ioyned them selues to Christ by earnest and true faith. Nowe this thing as it maie be done of the Priestes of Christ manie waies, so there can no waie be deuised by anie wise man more commodiousthen that, whiche is by the wholesome confession of synnes. for in confession the Priestes doe thrust their handes into the innermost partes of mens heartes, that they may draw out the serpent of synne, and dash them against a stone, and kil them.

**The Sacrament  
of the  
Aulter.**

But now let vs come to that wonderful Sacrament of the Aulter. But before I enter into this matter, it liketh me to set here a goodlie saying of Simias written of Plato in his booke intituled Phædo. Plato bringeth in Simias reasoning thus with Socrates. Me thinketh, Socrates, as I iudge you think also, that it is impossible, or surely exceeding hard, for a man, so long as he is in this life, to vnderstand the truthe clerely

clerely and perfectly . The which although it be true , yet me thinketh it were the parte of a weake and faint hearted man , not to discusse and examine by reasoning on both sides , what so euer is wont to be disputed in these darke matters , vntil at the length , the matter being diligently weyed and considered , we may be able either to lerne the truth of other , or els to find it our selues . If we can not atteine vnto this , yet at the lest wise , we must haue great regard , emongest the reasons of diuers men to take some one that seemeth better and surer : with the which as it were with a boate we maie gouerne our life in these waues with some daunger , vntil we may either find an other ship of more assuraunce and lesse daunger , or els be instructed by the wordes and aduise of God himselfe , how to directe our course withoutanie error . Thus much said he . But to what purpose , say you , haue  
you

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you alleaged this place out of Plato? That you may vnderstand, that men of excellent wits did euen in those daies perceiue, how litle we ought to trust to mā's reason, and how earnestly we ought to praie, that our life might be gouerned, not by the staie of our owne wit, but by the rule of the woorde of God. So we doe, say you. Would God ye did. But it is not so. But rather when it is lest cōuenient, you wil weakē reason and take it awaie quite, and runne like mad mē into darkenes: againe whē reason is to be bridled by the faith of Christ, you yeald so much to reason, that what so euer reason is not able to atteyne, you will soorthwith geaue it ouer. Now for somuch as reason is driuen into a narrowe and streight roome, and the boundes of Christian faith are passing great and endles: it is a token not onely of a naughtie and wicked man, but also of a blunt and dul wit, to directe his life, not by faith, but by

but by reason . For what man a liue is  
able to trie out perfectly the causes of  
the lest thinges in the worlde ? to de-  
scribe exactly the first spring , the in-  
crease, the varietie, the beawtie , the  
fruit, the profite and vse of trees and  
plātes? to expresse in wordes the ordre  
and waie, by the which eche thing in  
his kinde is holdē together and made to  
cōtinue? what man in the world is able  
to atteine by wit, to search out the se-  
cret force and cause, how a liuing thīg  
is made , nourished and knit together  
with bones and sinewes ? by what cū-  
ning or subtilty the vaines are spread  
through the whole body, how the ar-  
teries are so wonderfully wouen one  
within an other, and how they do cō-  
uey the spirite of life to al the partes of  
the body, being so meruelously accor-  
ded the one to serueth' other, ād so fine-  
ly cōpacked together within theselues.  
Then to come to the nourishment, in-  
crease, mouīg, goīg, diuersity, ād multi-  
tude

## THE SECOND

tude of liuing thinges, and the naturall knowledge and pollicie that ech thing hath to keepe and defend it selfe: what man was euer able to find out by vndoubted reasons the very ground and perfect knowledge of these thinges? Great learned men haue disputed verie much as touching the mind of mā: of the nature, disposition, wit, reason, inuention, memorie, and other powers of it: but of al this disputation we receiue none other commoditie but this, that we may wel perceiue by their long studie and diligent search, howe great darkenes and ignoraunce there is in mans reason. For we see in them a goodlie endeouour of mind to consider the nature of mans mind: but of the perfect knowledge of the thing, which they seeke for, we are neuer the neere. Wherevpon it is gathered, that no man is able to know him selfe perfectly.

And yet there are some men so hard headed,

headed, that, if a thing be tolde them, which is wont to grow or to be done in farre Countries, they wil not beleue it : as though the thinges whiche they see with their eyes, and yet are ignorant of the causes, were lesse to be wōdred at, then those thinges, which are reported to be done in other places.

But now to omit to speake of the firmnes of the earth, the passing great widnes of the sea, the nature of the ayer that enuironeth vs, the burning of the skie, the due proportion and agreemēt of these bodies, the chaunge and alteration of one nature into an other as it were by course and order of Lawe: What shall we saie of the brightnesse, bewtie, hugenes, and compasse of the heauen? You, if ye leane vnto reason onely, what woulde you haue done in this case? Ymagine you had ben borne and bred in the darke countries of Cimmeria ( as the Poetes seine ) and some man had tolde you, that there were a  
O . huge



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huge greate frame conteining within his compasse al the whole world,meruelouſſie decked and garniſhed with many fiers, of ſuch hugenes that al the landes and ſeas in compariſon of it, are but as a pinnes point, of ſuch ſwiftnes in mouinge, that within the ſpace of ſower and twentie howers it turneth the whole bodie round about, of ſuch force and violence, that ſeuē other huge bodies of the ſame nature, which are conteined within his compaſſe, hauinge a contrarye courſe, it beareth them al backe with his onely mouing, if a manne ſhoulde tell you this tale, would you beleeeue him? No truly, if you truſt onely to reaſon and ſenſes. For ſo would you perſwade your ſelues, that the thinges, the cauſes whereof you are not able to conceiue, were impoſſible, (before you ſee them with your eyes).

What if he ſhoulde tell you of the ſonneſhine, a thing both healthful and comfortable

comfortable to al liuing creatures, and of the goodly order, which the sonne keepeth in goinge by litle and litle towards the North, and again how he returneth by the same way to the South, casting his bright beames vpo al things in the world? What if he should report how the moone with her increase and decrease diuideth the times of the yere and how she geueth ripenes to al thigs which the land and sea bringeth forth? What if he should declare, how diuerslie the heauenly bodies aboue are moued and tourned, and how notwithstanding they are all reduced to a most perfecte harmonic and agreemente? Would you beleeeue it? No truely, if you can be perswaded in nothing, except it may either be proued by reason, or perceiued by sense.

It is surely a token of a base mind to esteeme the knowlege of things, by the narrow and streight measure of mans vnderstanding, and not according to

O ij. the

## THE SECOND

the almighty power of him that made them: And out of this dulnes or weaknes of nature procedeth al such opinions, as are contrary to holy Religion. For all heretikes, either they esteeme the almightie power of God by their owne weakenes, or els they measure the infinite mercie of God by their own naughtines. As though thei were able to make any resemblance in the world of the power of God, or vnderstand how great the goodnes is of that moſte bountifull Father, whiche doth with ſpecial regard, as it were, walke vp and downe throughout al his creatures, and prouidētly mainteineth eche thing in his kinde and nature. And to paſſe ouer all other thinges, me thinketh, that in that laſt geuing of ſhape and ſourme to euery liuing thing, I ſee a miracle, which ſheweth plainly the power and cūning of that moſt excellent workeman, in whose handes the liuing creature was made and faſhioned.

ned. Neither dothe the multitude of  
liuing thinges minish the estimation of  
Gods worke, but rather augment and  
increase it. For the benefites of almighty  
God, the more they are in number,  
and the better they are knowen, the  
better is the greatnes of his power and  
mercy sene, although the reason of his  
workes be not vnderstood. What shal  
I here speake of those thinges, that are  
for the excellency of their nature farre  
aboue the sense and vnderstanding of  
man? Who wil beleue that there is an  
infinite multitude of heauenly spirites,  
whiche being of vnderstanding moſte  
cleere, of holines most pure, of vertue  
and power very excellent, of comelines  
and bewty most like vnto God, are al-  
waies occupied in the Seruice of God?  
euermore singing and praising his Ma-  
iestie, continually burning with the  
flame of the loue of God? What? Can  
you conceiue by reason, how the only  
sonne of God, the veri expresse Image

O. iij. of

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of the Father, the brightnes of euerla-  
 sting light, being equal with the Father  
 in nature, power, kingdome, and maie-  
 stie: toke vpon him the shape of man,  
 suffered in his mortal bodie labour, mi-  
 sery, punishment for vs, redemed with  
 his bloud our foules which were foully  
 spotted in sinne? If these thinges are to  
 be weyed by mans reason onely, they  
 are nothing like to be true: but if we  
 will consider them according to the  
 faith, which we haue of the bountifull  
 goodnes of God, there is nothing more  
 credible. For passing great benefits are  
 to be required and looked for of passing  
 great bountie. He that spared not (saith  
 S. Paul) his owne sonne, but gaue him  
 vp for vs al: How gaue he not vnto vs  
 al things with him? Wherfore to such  
 as beleue vprightly, I thinke ther is no-  
 thing els nedeful to be considered, but  
 how the thing, that they are willed to  
 beleue, standeth with the bountie of  
 God: the which doing, it is not pos-  
 sible

Rom 8 .f.

sible that any man should doubt of any  
mysterie of our saluation.

These thinges being thus determi-  
ned, I will now talke, not with you,  
M. Haddon, of whome, as you saie,  
the Sacramentes of the Church are  
kepte: butte I will take soome one  
of them to talke withall, that rayleth  
with blasphemouse mouth against the  
blessed Sacramente of the Aulter.  
And bicause I wil seeke no further, let  
it be your golden Martyr, whom you  
commend so highlie. Ymagine there-  
fore, that I talke with him after this  
sorte.

O moste vile and naughtie felowe,  
what came into thy minde to go about  
to deface, to violate, and to deprau  
that moste holy Mysterie, the monu-  
mente of the loue of God towards  
vs, the comforte of our bannishment,  
the staie of the frailtie of manne, the  
bankette of heauen, ordeyned for vs  
in that last Supper by the handes of  
our

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Our Lord him selfe? Was there none in so many hundred yeres but thou and thy Maisters, that durst attempt so heinous, vile, and barbarous an acte? Was there none that vnderstoode the sense of the holie Scripture, the meaning of the Gospell, the order of the blessed Sacramentes, but you? Were so many holy Martyrs, so many Religious persons, so many great wise men (in whome shone the beames of the brightnes of God) ignorant in matters of so great importance? It is like forsooth, that the light of the holie Ghost shewed it selfe first vnto suche fancie, desperate, rash and presumptuous varlettes, as you are, and suffered so many thousandes of holie and vertuous men to lye in darkenes and ignorance. Tell me, I pray thee, what great thing had Christ done for vs, if at what time he determined to leaue to his Disciples a speciall pledge of his loue towards the, he had left them nothing els, but a  
bare

bare remembrance of his death in the  
 consecration of that bread? It had ben  
 a signe only, meet to be nūbred emō-  
 gest those that you defaced and ouer-  
 threw, and nothing worthie to be ce-  
 lebrated with so great reuerēce of that  
 moſte holie and euerlaſting Prieſte.  
 Moreouer I wold ſaine learne of thee,  
 whether it be a wicked offence to call  
 to remembrance the death of Chriſte,  
 ſo long as a man is in ſinne? No truly,  
 but cōtrariwiſe we can deuſe no bet-  
 ter medicine, then that is, to driue awai  
 ſinne, and to recouer our health by the  
 grace of Chriſt. What moued S. Paul  
 then, if there be nothing elles in this ſa-  
 crament, but only a bare remembrāce  
 of that death that Chriſt ſuffred vpon  
 the Croſſe, to threaten ſo grieuous and  
 horrible paines to ſuche, as woulde re-  
 ceiuē this heauēly bread vnworthily? 1. Cor. 11.  
 Who ſo euer ſhall eate, ſaieth he, the 4.  
 bread, and drinke the cup of our Lord  
 vnworthily, ſhal be gilty. What? Is  
 it



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it such a greiuous offence, when I am sicke, to thinke vpon the medicine, with the which only I may be healed? What other thing did I, when I receiued that bread, (if there be nothing els in it, but a remēbrance of those wounds, by the which only my wounds may be healed) but cal to remēbraunce the only remedy of life? Wilt thou blame me, when I am sicke, bicause I seeke the remedie of my disease, and humbly call for succour? Thou canst not do it. And yet, if I receiue that bread vnworthily, that is to say, as thou expoundest it, if I remember being in synne, that Christ suffered death and cruel tormentes for me: S. Paule maketh me terribly afraid, by charging me with a crime. But with what a crime I pray thee? Some light or cōmon crime peraduēture, the which offendeth not verie much. No, such a crime as is of al other most heinousse and wicked. He shalbe gilty, saith he, of the bodie and bloude of our Lord,

1. Co. 11. f.

Lorde, that is to say, he shalbe gyltrie of  
 no lesse crime, then if he had crucified  
 Christ. For what cause? Bicause as the  
 wicked souldiers, pricked forewarde  
 with vnbeleefe, put to death the Lord  
 and maker of al thinges: so do they,  
 that presume to touch with vncleane  
 mindes that moste excellent cleanes,  
 seeme to bring vpon them selues the  
 selfe same plague for the likenes of  
 their heinouise offence. For bothe of  
 them do alike despise Christe, and yn-  
 reuerently abuse his holines and ma-  
 iesty. For otherwise what harme were  
 it to synful men to receiue that bread?  
 None at al. The Apostle therfore, bi-  
 cause he sawe, how griuouse a faulte  
 it was, to touch the bodie of our Lord  
 with an vncleane soule, denoūced the  
 punishment, to fray al men from doing  
 such a presumptuous acte. And there-  
 fore he saith anon after: Let a manne  
 first trie him selfe, and so eate of that  
 breade, and drinke of that cuppe. 1. Co., ii. g.

And,

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*Mat. 26. c* And, what can be more plaine then  
*Mar. 14. c* the wordes of our Lord? This is, saith  
*Luc. 22. b.* he, my bodie : and doe this in remem-  
*2, Co, 11. c.* brance of me. How then? Wilt thou  
 presume to take the wordes of Christ,  
 being nothing doubtful, but plaine and  
 euident, and expoūd them maliciously?  
 Wilt thou set the meaning of S. Paul  
 at naught, which expoūdeth the myste-  
 rie exceeding plainly and wel? Wilt  
 thou preferre this thy vnsetled fantasie  
 and mad gare, before the most sincere  
 meaning of the Apostle of God? If he  
 be giltye of the bodie and bloud of our  
 Lord, which receiueth this bread vn-  
 worthelie : He that slaundereth and  
 deproueth it, he that reuileth and (so  
 muche as in him lyeth) renderth it in  
 peeces, he that treadeth vnder his  
 foote the bodie and bloude of Christe,  
 he that goeth about to take away and  
 vtterlie to abolishe the vertue of that  
 so wonderfull a Sacramente : howe  
 shall he be punnished according to his  
 wicked

wicked and horrible facte?

What is it so? If thou vnderstande not, by what meanes the moste holie bodie of Christ is in this Sacramēt, not placed or limited according to the measure and proportion of the greatnesse thereof, but presente in the eyes of a faithfull heart through the almightie power of the woordes of God: if thou see not that merueilouse chaunge of earthly breade into the natnre of heauenlie bread: if thou perceiue not, by what meanes the most excellent Maiestie of Christ, which filleth al things, multiplieth the giftes of his whole bodie, that he may therewirh feede and refresh the faithfull soules, and glewe them all together with charitie within them selues, and tye them fast to him selfe with the band of euerlasting loue: is it therfore reason, that thou shouldst slander and depraue this so wonderful a benefite of God? What thing doest thou vnderstande? What thing doest

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doest thou conceiue by discourse and reason? What thing is there in all the worlde, whiche thy minde is able to perceue exactly, and to know perfectly? Why then doest thou not order thy life, by cleere faithe, and not by troubled reason? Tel mee, I pray thee, doest thou mistrust Gods power or mercie, or elles doth the greatnesse of the benefite trouble thee? Neyther can the power of God be hindred by any let or staie, neyther can his mercy be limited with any bowndes: and the greatnes of the benefite is a very good prooffe of the truth thereof. For why, there is nothing more agreeable to the greate bountifullnesse of God, then the greatnes of the thing, which he geaueth.

Then I aske thee an other question: What is the cause, thinkest thou, why I doe beleue, that the bodie and bloud of Christe is after a wonderfull manner contained in this Sacrament, and thou

thou beleeuest it not? It is not surely, bicause I will suffer my selfe to be abused for lacke of witte. For thou doest not passe mee either in witte, or learning. But this is the cause. Thou trustest thy senses, and I directe al my doinges according to the faith of holie Church. Thou doest caste of the yoke, and spurne against it: but I doe of myne owne accorde put my heade into the moste sweete yoke of Christ. Thou doest refuse his benefites, but I doe praie vnto him to encrease my faith.

Moreouer, we see this by daily experience. The more a man yeldeth to vice and vncleanes of life: the feinter is his beleeve as touching this dreadfull Mysterie. Wherevpon it is concluded, that he, that geaueth him selfe wholie ouer to the pleasure of the bodie, and therefore falleth from the vnitie of the Church, wil beleue nothing at all of it. But on the other  
side

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side we see, that the chaster and clea-  
ner life any mā leadeth, the more sure  
and constant is his belefe in this point:  
in so much that he perswadeth him self,  
that he beholdeth in this Sacrament,  
euen Christ him selfe nailed vpon the  
Crosse.

Surely this agreement of the mind  
and wil of man, is a thing to be woon-  
dered at. The mind seeketh the thing  
that is true: the wil desireth the thing  
that is good: and the wel gouerned wil  
foloweth the iudgement of the truly  
directed mind. It foloweth therefore  
that they only see the truth perfectly,  
which are wel ordered in their life and  
conuersation: for vicious and naughty  
men are cōmonly tourned away from  
the truth, bicause they haue their mind  
disordered with vnruely desires.

Now therefore consider to whom  
it is better to geaue eare. To those ho-  
ly men, the which being of mind most  
pure, of life most chaste, in holie Scri-  
ptures

ptures most excellently wel learned,  
 haue from the time of the primitiue  
 Church folowed this faith: or elles to  
 these madbraines and frantik felowes,  
 to these filthie licentious ribawdes,  
 to the newe vpstart doctours, which  
 haue most wickedly and heinouſly vi-  
 olated this faith? This Sacramente the  
 holie Fathers, whiche were taught of  
 the Apostles, called *Synaxim*, that it  
 to say, a bringing together, bicause it *Synaxis*  
 linked the mindes of men together wi  
 in themſelues, and brought them to be  
 ioyned al in Chriſt. In like māner they  
 called it *Eucharistiam*, that is, a than- *Eucharis-*  
 kesgeuing: bicause there is no benefite *ſtia.*  
 of God in this life, for the whiche we  
 are bound to yeald vnto his Maieſtie  
 greater praiſe and hartier thanks. For  
 it ſupporteth the ſtate of the ſowle, it  
 eſtabliſheth the powers of the minde,  
 it clereth the vnderſtāding, it ſtrēgh-  
 neth faith, it ſtirreth vppe hope, it en-  
 kandleth charitie, it inflameth hartes,  
 P it fil-

The effe-  
 ctes of the  
 Sacramēt  
 of the  
 Aulter.



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it filleth the godlie and deuout mindes  
 with meruelouse great sweetenes and  
 comfort. With this heauenlie foode,  
 S. Cyprian (so often as any tempest or  
 persecution was towarde) thought it  
 good to fortifie them, that were ap-  
 pointed to suffer tormentes for the  
 name of Christe. And therefore dyd  
 he the sooner admit into the Church  
 againe, such as were yet penitentes,  
 that is to witte, menne separated from  
 the Church for a tyme, to do penance  
 for some offence committed: to the  
 intent that, being strengthened by this  
 cōmunion of the body of Christ, they  
 might stand valiātly to the end against  
 al the power of Satan. For the holy mā  
 was of this mind, that the foode of this  
 heauēly bread gaue such strēgh ād cou-  
 rage, as could not be brokē or weake-  
 ned by any force of our enemye the de-  
 uil. What should I here rehearse other  
 holy Martyrs without nūbre, al holie  
 writers, the faith and agreemēt of the

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vniversal Church continued euen frō  
the Apostles time to our daies? And  
yet wilt thou keepe open war, against  
the ordinaunce of Christe, against the  
doctrine of S. Paule, against the inesti-  
mable greatnesse of the fruietes in this  
mysterie cōteined, against the experi-  
ēce of such wōderful profit and sweet-  
nes, against the pure and sincere faith  
of the Catholik Church? And yet wilt  
thou reprochfully reuile the body and  
bloud of Christ, and depraue like a mad  
mā the most excellent and highest be-  
nifit, that euer the goodnes of God be-  
stowed vpon man? And yet wilt thou  
reioyse in thy wickednes, and poison  
many other men with the contagion  
of this thy most pestilent heresie?

These thinges, M. Haddon, thinke  
them not spoken to you, but to your  
Martyr. And now let him stand a side,  
and I wil thus reason with you. Could  
you, M. Haddon, knowing, as you  
doe verie wel, not only the vestue of

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this wonderful Sacrament, whiche is of al other the greatest, but also the strength and operation of al other Sacramentes: being withall of that opinion, that to despise the Sacramentes, is a moſte heinouſe trespasse: when you vnderſtoode, that there was a man in the worlde ſo lewde and wicked, that he woulde goe aboute to take awaie and abolish this moſt worthie pledge of the loue of God, this moſt ſure ſtaie of all Chriſtian Religion, conteining in it all the graces and benefittes of God: could you, I ſaie, ſpeake familiarly vnto him? could you ſalute him gentelly? could you ſhewe him anie token of loue? Haue

**2. Ioh. 1. 6.** you neuer reade in S. Iohn, that he that ſaith, good morrowe, to wicked menne, is become partaker of their wickedneſſe? But you haue not onely ſpoken familiarly to this Martyr, but alſo commended him aboue the ſkies: and you haue ſaied, that  
that

that same golden couple of olde men, were brought into your Iland by the prouidence of God, to shine ouer you ( which had alreadie the goodly brightnesse of the newe sonne risen emongest you ) with a much clearer light .

Are you so sottish, M Haddon, that you vnderstande not, howe much you haue disteined your estimation by that countenance and shewe of gentlenesse towards him ? For what can be more infamous, then to be familiar with a frátike and naughtie fellowe ? But if you like his Doctrine also, then is it plaine, that you keepe not the Sacramentes at al : for so much as you haue vppon an vnsetled pange, without al order, wisedome, or discretion, taken awaie the greatest Sacrament, and that, that is of al other most wonderfull . Whie then say you, that you wonder, if there be any kind of professours in diuinitie in the worlde,

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that despiseth and setteth at naught the Sacramentes? But let vs now consider the description of your Church, the which you set before our eyes to behold, that we may vnderstand by it, that you haue had none other maister in Religion, but only the holy Ghost. You say thus.

*First of all, bicause faith is by hearing, We sende downe into all partes of our realme teachers of the holie Scriptures, to instructe the people in all pointes of godlines, and to infourme them in the true woorsshipping of God. Out of what fountaine sprang these Doctours? If they came out of the schoole of Luther, Bucer or Calvin: they can teach the people no godlines, being themselves open enemies to all godlinesse. It were therefore muche more tolerable, to haue no doctours at all, then to be infected with the most corrupt Doctrine of wicked menne. If they sprang out of any other heade, then*  
is it

is it manifest, that there is not emongest you any one and simple Doctrine, but diuerse opinions fondly iarring within them selues. It followeth.

*Then haue we a common order of praier out of the holie Scriptures, confirmed by the authoritie of a Parliament, (for so doe they terme the consent of the estates of our Realme) from the which we suffer no man to depart. By what order, lawe, or authoritie is this done: that a Councel, or as you cal it, a Parliament, should so impudently vsurpe the office of the Catholike Church, to make orders for praiers, prescribe how religion ought to be vsed, and not suffer any man to depart from the order which it hath decreed? For in holie thinges it is not lawfull for these menne to geaue lawes, but to take lawes. For otherwise they shall disturbe the common weale, if they wil not content them selues with their*

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owne vocation, but will thrust them selues into other mens doinges: and they shal marre Religion, if they will in matters apperteyninge to them onely, that susteine the personne of the Church, take vppon them to meddle, and transpose the dignitie of Priestes to them selues. You say afterwarde.

*Prouiding both in the one and in the other, so muche as we coulde, that the commaundement of the holie ghost be obeyed, the whiche, willesh that such as speake in the Church, should vse the word of God: and that there should be one common and agreable Doctrine emongest them all. You doe verie wel vndowbtedly. But wherehence riseth this so great debate and hourlie bournly for Religion in your Churches? Wherefore are the confessions and Crides so often chopped and chaunged in places, where Luther hath had a great name?*

*And*

*And we provide, saie you, that the Sacramentes be ministred verie neere vnto the prescribed order of the holy scriptures, and according to the example of the old Church, in the whiche our Lorde Iesum Christ first ordeined them himselfe with his Apostles. O valiant men, wor-  
thie to be commended aboue the hea-  
uens. O glorious attempte. O liuelie  
courage of lustie blouddes, the which  
thought yt not ynoughe to approuche  
neere vnto the holines of the olde  
Church, but they would presse euen at  
the verie hard heales of them. It fol-  
loweth.*

*All these thinges are set out in our  
owne mother tongue, bicause it is a great  
madnes for a man to babble out before  
God, he can not tell what: and it is dire-  
ctely againste the most wholesome do-  
ctrine of S. Paule, and all the auncient  
examples of the Apostolike Churches.*

*It is not you only, that teache such as  
vnderstand not the Latine, to praie in  
their*

*Praier in  
the vulgar  
tongue.*



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their owne tongue. For we also doe not suffer such, as are ignorant in the Latine speech, to serue God, but only in their own mother tongue: and there are manie bookes of praiers and holy scriptures writen, not by Parliament, as you call it, but by holie Priestes: the whiche (being firste examined by the prelates of the church) are sent abroad euerie where, and by them are children, women, and simple folke strained in the knowledge of their dewtie towards God. And the thinges that are thus written, they are not taken out of euerie mans fantasie, but out of the holie Scriptures, and out of the writings and examples of holie men. So that there lacketh not amongest vs anie discipline of manners, nor example of vertue, nor good bringing vp in true religion, to al such, as coulde not imploie them selues to the studie of learning. We haue also manie sermons, by the whiche men are stirred vp to  
the

the loue of godlines and religion. But in preaching we vse much discretion and warines, that none of those questions be opened emongest women and ignorant folkes, which are not verie necessarie vnto saluation, and yet maie quickly intangle their mindes with verie troublesome dowbtes and scruples. For as S. Gregorie of Nazianzene saith verie wisely: it is not conuenient to reason and dispute of God, neither to al men, neither in the presence of all men, neither at all times, neither of all matters, neither without good discretiō. For there is required to the doing of this thinge a meruelous cleanes of fowl and body, a veri calme and wel settled mind, good time, cōuenient oportunitie, earnest zeale, much fearfulness and exceding great moderation. Forther is no man so simple, that he can not vnderstand the difficultie of euery question: but there are few so witty, that they cā rid the selues out of  
the

Discretiō  
in prea-  
ching.

Things  
requisite  
in a  
preacher.

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the briers, when they are once fallen in. And this is the cause, whie manie men are confounded in questions, but few escape out of their snares. Moreover such is the arrogancie and pride of certaine ignorât felowes, that they become intolerable, if they can atteine neuer so litle knowledge in any thing, which they knew not before, specially if it be in expounding the holy scriptures. For they wil iudge so presumptuously of the highest pointes of Diuinitie (the which they vnderstand not) as though they were called to be of Gods priuie counsaile: the which rashnes hath bred manie wicked and troublesome errors, and caused much dissension. But the end of the law, saith S. Paul, is not the vaunting of learning, but charity from a pure hart, and good conscience, and faith vnfained. He therefore that can bring to passe, that al men maie be, linked the one to the other in charitie, furnished with vertues,

2. Tim. 1. b

tues, established in true faith: although he beate not into the heads of the vnlearned people a hundred questions touching predestination, yet shal he shew him to be a very good preacher. Therefore for so much as this ought to be our only intent, how to plant charitie, innocencie, and faith in the hartes of men: and that maie very well be taught without this translation of the holy scriptures: what neded it, to take the thinges that were cōteined in the latine tongue without perill, and to translate them into the English tongue with great daunger? Mary sir, say you, it is against the most wholesome doctrine of S. Paul How so I praie you? If you marke well the meaning of S. Paul, you shal see, that his wordes are nothing contrarie to our pourpose.

Not necessarie to haue the scriptures in the vulgar tongue.

But first of all it is to be knowen, that in S. Paules time al Christian men in a manner were endewed with such vertues and qualities, as fewe men in  
our

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our daies can attaine vnto by studie and faith. Then it is also to be considered, that there were in those daies diuers giftes and graces of the holy ghost geauen vnto such men, as were inflamed with the loue of Christe. Howbeit, although they were taught and schooled of the holy Ghost, yea and wel instructed to be humble and modest: yet were they in no small daunger of pride. The which is not to be wondered at, for so muche as S. Paul himselfe the maister of heauēlie wisdom, the perfecte example of humilitie and modestie affirmeth, that the pricke of the fleshe was a thing necessarie for him, lest the knowledge of the secrets of God might puffed vp his mind. Now as manie were puffed vp with those gyftes, so were such, as had the gyfte of tongues, somewhat more insolent then other men: and they would praise God in diuers tongues, whiche other men vnderstoode not, without any interpretation.

2. Cor. 12.  
6.

terpretour. There was also an other great inconuenience, which was, that he, that spake with vnknowē tonges, would not tarie till an other man had made an end of speaking, but at one time a great many together would praise God in straunge tongues. And these three discōmodities were caused in their assembles, for lacke of discretio in those good men. The first was the arrogant setting out of the gyftes of God: the secōd was the disquieting of such as would teach: the third was the breaking of order, which of all thinges becometh the Church of Christe best.

But S. Paule very wisely remoueth al these thinges. For to place humility, he putteth al men in mind of that most wretched state in the which they had liued before, when through the mocio of the ennemie the diuell they went suppliantly after ydols: that they might the more easily gather by that, that *1. Cor. 12* those gyftes ought to be referred, *4.*

not

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not to their desertes, but to the infinite mercie of God.

He teacheth them also, that other me were not to be dispised, the which, although they had not receiued those gyftes, yet were they not vtterly void of the gyftes of God: for so much as no man can confesse our Lord Iesus from his heart but by the benefite of the holie Ghost.

1. Cor. 12.

4.

After that he declareth how that the gyfte, which euerie man hath receiued, he hath receiued it, not for him selfe only, but for all other: and that it ought therfore to be imploied to the profit of the vniuersal Church.

Then he sheweth how emongest al the gyftes of God, charitie hath the highest roome and dignitie, that they might thereby vnderstand, that it skilleth not much, how manie tongues a man knew, or ells how great miracles he was able to worke, but with how great zeale and diligence he furthered the

the Church.

Last of al making a comparison betwene the gyfte of tongues and prophesie, he despiseth not tongues, but preferreth prophesying far before the tongues. And these are the places, by the which the Apostle brought the me of that time frō a certaine kind of lightnes, to the loue of grauity and modesty.

But that disorder of talking together and hindering one an other in suche sort, that the profite of teaching was thereby lost, S. Paule tooke it awaie, when he saied. But if any man speake with tongue, let it be done by two, or at the most by three, and let one expounde. For you maie prophesie by one and one, and you maie speake by one and one. And lest anie man might saie, that he was violently moued by the spirite, in such sorte, that he could not refraine him selfe from speaking: the Apostle saith, that the spirit of prophetes is subiecte vnto the Prophetes.

Q : Wherin



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Wherin he teacheth them, that it laie in them, whiche were moued by the holy Ghost, to moderate the gyfte of the holy Ghost.

*1. Cor. 14.*  
*f.* Finally he setteth an order, ( of the whiche he had saied much before ) by these wordes. Endeavour your selues to prophecie, and forbid no man to speke with tongues. But let al things be done honestly and orderly. The Apostle forbiddeth not to vse straunge tongues: but yet he preferreth before tongues the gyfte of prophecie, that is to saie, the declaration of the wil of God, and the edifying of the Church: and he commaundeth, that al thinges be done with verie good order.

Now there are two pointes to be considered in this place: the one is, that, emongest many things, which maie be done at one time at our pleasure indifferently, looke what thinges maie be omitted without offence, are to be omitted, when any daunger that maie ther-

thervpon ensewe, and the time so requireth. And therfore, although in S. Pauls time al mysteries might be communicated to al men: it foloweth not, that they thold, in our daies (when ther is no like capacity in al mē to cōceiue them) be cōmitted to al men indifferētly without any respecte of personnes.

The other point is, that the meaning of S. Paul in al that disputation was, to keepe downe pride, to set vp charitie, and to cōmaund, that order should be kept. He therfore that geueth occasiō of pride, that slaketh loue and charity, that distourbeth good order, although he seeme to folowe the wordes of S. Paule, yet goeth he directly against the meaning of S. Paul.

These thinges being thus determined, I wil aske you a question: what came into your braines, to be so desirous to take al the volumes of the holy Scripture, and without anie necessity, ye with no smal dāger of the vnlearned

Qij : people,

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people, to cōmit them to euerie iacke-  
straw to expounde? did you it, to re-  
streyn the pride of such as are base?  
No: you haue rather puffed vp their  
hartes incredibly, causing them to cō-  
ceiue a false opinion of wisdom in  
them selues. Was it done to cause a  
more seruient charitie emongest them?  
No: you haue rather forced the weake  
minde to fall out within them selues,  
through your diuers, yea and contrary  
expositions of the law of God. Was it  
done to set all thinges in good order?  
No: you haue rather ouerthrowen all  
good and aunciēt order. For now eue-  
ry man is a prophete, euerie man is a  
shepeheard, euery mā is a doctour, eue-  
rie man will prate in euerie place very  
vnsemely of matters of diuinitie, euery  
mā wil babble what him listeth of the  
highest Mysteries, the lowest pointe  
whereof is farre aboue his capacitie.  
This is by like your prouidence, wher-  
by you haue taken quite awaie that si-  
lence

lenée which was vsed of olde time in the churches: that bathfulnes, whiche became honest matrones meruelously wel: that modesty, which kept the simple people verie wel in their dewtie. And so it is come to passe, that wheras you pretend to folow the wordes of S. Paul, you bend your selues earnestly against his meaning.

What lacked there, I praie you, in the olde time, that was necessarie to keepe honest heartes in a sobre discipline? Were there not lerned Priests, the which were able to choose out of the holie mysteries so much as was needful to saluation, and so much as they might declare vnto the ignorant people without dannger? Were there none to supplie the place of the vnlearned man, and to answer Amen? Was the sounnd and wordes of the Latine tongue so straunge, that no man vnderstoode it in all your Churches? Needed there the authoritie of the

Q iij

Apostle

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Apostle to breake vp that disordered confusion of many tongues together, when there was heard, in the commō praiers of the churches, but one kind of speech only, and that by long custome verie well knowen and commonly vsed?

If the vse of one common tongue ioyneth the mindes of men in one, then was there nothing more agreeable to the rule of Christ, then that the seruice of God should be openly saied in one only tongue, the which was in all churches of the west part of the world learned in scholes, and practised in the dailie affaires: and nothing lesse conuenient, then that the seruice is now saied in so manie tongues as there are nations, emongest whome men without learning, without witte, without religion take vpon them the office of expounding the holie Scriptures. Wherefore neither was our simplicity so vnprofitable, as you wise men thought

thought it was: neither is your prouident warines so wholesome, as your maisters imagined it would haue ben. For out of it are risen errors, and disorders, and a false opiuiō of wisdom (whiche is the greatest madnes in the worlde) with manie other discommodities.

Then you goe forewarde in the declaration of the doctrine of your Church, saying. *We vse at the laying on of handes, the celebration of mariage, the churching of women after child bearing, the visiting of the sicke, and the burying of the dead, solempne and publike seruice set out according to the truth of the ghespell.* Al the rest you comprehend verie briefly in one sentence, perswading your selfe, that it is sufficiently declared, that you are not destitute, neither of Sacramentes, neither of anie other thinges apperteyning to religion.

You confesse plainly after that, that you haue shaken of from you,

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the yoke of the high Bishop or Pope: bicause it was heauier, then that either you or your fathers could beare it. Your fathers and auncetours I know, did beare it verie well and with great commédation: but you I graunt, were not able to beare it. For how had it ben lawful for you, to breake violently into the monasteries, to disanull the rules of monkes, to deflower the holy and chaste Virgins, to deface like vngodlie and furious men al orders of religion, to laie your greedy and violent handes vpon the Churches goods appointed to holie vses, to pul downe all monumentes of vertue and godlines, to ouerthrow the auncient Church, and to botch vp an other at your pleasure: if this yoke had not ben first taken of from your neckes? You bring in a litle after.

*Neither doe we acknowledge anie Bishop, but onlie our Lord Iesus Christe, to whom the holy scriptures appoint this peculiar*

*culiar honour*. O worthie saying, full of wonderful godlines, and conteyning in it a most euident proufe of heauenlie life. What shal we doe to these mē, which are so holie, so vtterly void of al care of this present life, that for the desire and loue of the presence of Christ him selfe, they can not abide to see any Vicare of Christ vpon the earth. But lette vs see a litle. This name of Christ, doth it import the dignitie and office of a bishop only, or elles doth it comprehend also the authoritie and maiestie of a King? Surely it can not be denied, that by the worde and meaning of Christ, in this name of Christ is contained the power both of a bishop and of a King. Whie then doe you acknowledge any other king, beside our Lord Iesus Christ? Whie are you not so free and earnest, to shake of this yoke that remaineth? Whie suffer you this freedome of your gospell to be hindered through the power and authori-



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thoritie of a King? Whie doe you not (as it hath ben already attempted in other places, whiche are infected with the selfe same religiō) bend your selues earnestly to make away the maiestie of a King? for as you acknwolege one only high bishop, so is it necessarie to obci one only King. If you thinke it mete to haue an other king in th'earth, as Vicare of that high and almightie king: what is the cause, whie you wold not haue an other bishop as Vicare of that most high and holy bishoppe? But you wil say. We haue bishops, but we wil haue no high bishop: Whie then, it is not the name of a bishop, but of a high bishoppe, that offendeth you. Wherefore thinke you then, that the authoritie of a Kinges power (whiche dowbtles is the highest) is to be borne in England? Are there not magistrates amongest you? Is there not a publike counsel? Haue you not Princes and Lordes? Then take awaie the contro-  
uerſie

uerſie of the name, and ther are in Eng-  
land a great many, (as there are alſo e-  
mōgeſt vs) the which haue the autho-  
rity of kinges, although thei be not cal-  
led by the name of Kinges. Ymagine  
therfore, that they were certaine litle  
kinges. What needed it then, being ſo  
many kinges emongeſt you, that there  
ſhuld be any one high or ſupreme king,  
to reſtraine by his authority the other  
inferiour kinges? For if you thinke that  
this word (high) mai not be born in the  
dignitie of a biſhop: why do you not in  
like māner deteſt the name of highnes  
in the Maieſtie of a king? No, ſay you,  
it was very wiſely prouided, that al the  
magiſtrats and Princes in Englād ſhuld  
haue one ſupreme Prince, whom they  
ſhuld al reuerēce, and by whoſe power  
ād authority they ſhuld be al reſtrained:  
for otherwiſe, it cannot be choſen, but  
that there would be ſtirred vp muche  
trouble and diſcord, to the great peril  
of the whole realme, I thinke you ſay  
truly.

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truly . And therefore I affirme in like manner, that in the Church, whiche ought to be alwaies one, it is necessarie, that there be one supreme power of a high bishop, whose authoritie all other Bishops should reuerence . For otherwise it must needes be, that there arise much debate and manie pestilent sectes, to the great ruine and decaie of the Church, and that the Church be brought therby into verie great daunger . For if within the space of fourtie yeares, sence a great peece of Germanie, and afterwarde England fel from the Bishop of Rome, so many seditions haue risen amongst the Princes of your Religion, that they cā not possibly agree, neither with other mē, neither yet within them selues : what ende, thinke you, wil ensue, in case al Christendome (the which God forbid) being thereunto procured and moued by your diligence and vnreasonable meanes, should rebel with the like out-

rage

rage and madnes? It remaineth therefore, that, as in England there is one supreme power, whiche comprehendeth al other Princes vnderneath it: so there be also in the Church one supreme authoritie, the whiche al other inferiour powers must willingly and diligently obeie. For otherwise it is not possible, that the crewel tempestes risen in the Church should euer be slaked, or the flames of discord quenched, or the ciuile warres ended. Now, for so much as Christ is the author of peace: Whosoever wil saie, that they wil haue but one only bishop which is our Lord Iesus Christe, and by the religious pretēce of this worde, wil open a gap to so manie opinions, and to so much pestilent dissensiō: thei are lyers. No, they doe rather fight against Christ, and worshippe Satan the author of debate and discorde. But contrarie wise, such as honour and reuerence the bishoppe of Rome as the  
**Vicars**

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Vicare of Christ, for that respect only, because he is the lieutenant of Christ in the earth: they doe in deede acknowledge only Christ to be the high Priest.

And yet you saie, that, by this your rebellion and contempte, you doe not cut and mangle the coate of Christ, but only geue a touch at the Bishop of Romes cloke. And by and by after you bring in these wordes. *Neither doe we laie open the waie, as you saie, to sedition, but we doe dāme vp the path, the which goeth downe, through his licentious lead, to the great decāie of good manners.* Of this lead, and of your notable reproch I haue spokē before, with as much modestie, as the matter would suffer me. But of this your base, vile, and shamelesse boldnes, when you say, that you haue not rent and torne the coate of Christ, but rather, that you haue, by this your most wicked rebellion, made a goodlie prouision, that good man-  
ners

ners should not decaie, I can not wel  
tel what to say to you. Dare you, seing  
euerie where, as you doe, that there  
are so many diuisions of pestilēt sectes,  
with so much debate and discord: that  
there is no certaine faith emōgest you,  
no agreemēt in Religiō: that your con-  
fessiōs are changed almost euerie day,  
your beleeves and Creedes corrected:  
that the olde places of doctrine are dis-  
annulled, and new set vp: that manifold  
sectes ariseth daily, and the old Church  
is diuided in many parts: how dare you,  
I say, report, that this your falling from  
the Church hath not māgled the coate  
of Christe? When you see with your  
eyes, that pride, arrogancie, disobe-  
dience, stubbernes, saucie talke, flaun-  
derous repōrt, fleshlie pleasure, naugh-  
tines, dishonesty, tumult and sedition  
goeth vp and downe freely and vncō-  
trolled, wheresouer your maisters put  
their foote: with what face dare you  
say, that you haue after this rebellion  
set

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set the manners of men in good and seemelie ordre? The thing it selfe speaketh, dailie examples declare, neither doe the open assises, no neither secret parlars hold their peace.

But let vs now see, howe worshipfully you confute that my discourse as touching the Monarchie of the holie Church. You say. *In the best time of the Church, there was one God and one faith.* That is true. But now neither is there one God, nor one faith emongest the ministers of your gospel. For one offereth vp diuine honour to pleasure, another to madnes: some to the bealie, and some to railing. Luther hath one faith, Bucer an other, Zwinglius hath one, and Caluin an other. And yet you say.

*Peter had his Prouince, Paule had his, and Iames his, and other had other Prouinces. And yet did not this separation of their persons disioine the unitie of their faith.* What conclude you then? maie it be

it be gathered by these things, that you saye, that Peter, when he was resident in one Prouince, had no preeminence ouer the rest of the Apostles? That is not wel cōcluded of these things, that you haue spoken. For now euery Bishoppe hath his Prouince, and the Bishop of Rome hath his. And yet are we all subiect vnto him by the lawe of God. It foloweth.

*In processe of time, many of the Bishops of Rome, were Martyrs, and were sacrificed vnto God by prophane and vngodlie Princes: but Crownes had they none, vnlesse it were the Crownes of Martyrdome. This extraordinarie soueraintie of Popedom, they knew not. Yes M. Haddon, it is wel knowen, that the most blessed Princes and soueraignes of the Church of Rome them selues, to witte, Clement, and Euaristus, and Lucius, and Marcellus, and Pius, the which attayned the Croune of Martyrdome with very great glory, whom neither ambi-*

R      tion



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tion, nor any other vnlaful desire moued to seke for that supreme honoure: do beare witnes against you. For their writinges declare plainly, that their iudgement was, that the soueraintie of the vniuersal Church, was euer in the Church of Rome. What should I here reherse Ireneus, Augustine, and al other holy Fathers? What shoulde I here vnfolde the memorie of al the antiquitie? Of the new writers reade, if it please you, Eckius, the B. of Rochester, Cocleus, Pighius, and such other most excellēt men both for vertue and learning, and you shall see, how ignorant you are in this mater of the supremacie. They dispute and contend, not with reprochful wordes, not with lies, not with impudēcy: but with testimonies of the holie Scriptures, but with the authorities of the holy Fathers, but with examples of the vnspotted antiquitie: and they presse their aduersaries, and proue them to be not onely wicked

wicked felowes, but also very mad and  
frantike mē. But how is it possible, that  
you should vnderstand these thinges?  
What time could you spend in the stu-  
die of Diuinitie, being a mā alwaies cō-  
uersant in the law court, and hindered  
with many affaires? And so, me thin-  
keth, that you are not so much to be  
blamed, as your maisters, the whiche  
haue nouseled you in so mani errours.  
How be it you are also to be blamed  
for two points. The first is lightnes, for  
that you haue so lightly geuen credite  
to naughty mē. The other is impudēcy,  
for that you haue so rashly auouched  
thinges, that you neuer read. Tel me, I  
pray you, where haue you read, that  
Gregorie did abandone this supreamē  
dignitie of the B. of Rome? And yet  
you put it in your oratiō affirming it ful  
stoutly, and are neuer a whit ashamed  
of your lying. At the length you con-  
clude thus. *Wherfore if the best state of  
the church, was without this Monarchy:*

R ij

We

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*We may also lack it ful wel : yea We ought  
to lacke it, not only bicause it is expressely  
forbidden by the Gospel, but also bicause it  
standeth wel with reason. What a rash-  
nes and impudencie is this in you, to  
conclude an Argument after this sorte  
without al reason ? You must bring in  
your conclusion vpon thinges, that are  
true, knowen, and agreed vppon, not  
vppon thinges that are false and not  
graunted . If you be ignorant in this,  
you are a very dolt: if you know it, and  
yet will goe about to conclude your  
argument vpon false propositions, with-  
out any proufe going before : you are  
to be taken as a very shamelesse sophi-  
ster. For emongest the guyles and sub-  
tilties, which the babling sophisters are  
wonte to vse, this is accounted for one  
of the first, to goe aboute to conclude  
what them listeth, vppon thinges, that  
are not true, neither graunted, neither  
agreed vppon . *If the best state of the  
Church, saie you, was without this Mo-  
narchie,**

*archie, we may also lacke it full well.*

What, if the best state of the Church  
was neuer without this Monarchie,  
may you then lacke it? I thinke not.  
If it be then proued by writinges and  
records, yea and by the full agreement  
of al the holy Fathers, that the best state  
of the Church was neuer without this  
Monarchie: if you are able, neither to  
cōfute the authorities, neither to make  
any good proufe for your selfe, neither  
to bring any sure ground of antiquitie,  
but only in bare wordes to saie, what  
yelist: doe you not see, that all your  
talke is fainte and weake, and that it is  
pitifully shaken and battred of it selfe  
without gonneshotte? And yet; as  
though you had already contriued the  
whol matter according to your hearts  
desire; you say moreouer: *Yea we ought  
to lacke it.* How prone you, that it is  
of ductio? What fruct can you shew  
of this your wicked rebellion? What  
light haue you shewed to the worlde  
R. iij. by

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by this your outrage and madnesse so wonderfull, that you may wel say, that you haue discharged your duetie and office commendably.

Nowe, whereas you say, that the Gospel forbiddeth it expressely, you declare the verie true cause of all your doings. For it seemeth, that you are minded to doe that onely, that the Gospell of Christe forbiddeth you to doe. How be it you woulde not saie so, but rather that you do by the warrant of the Gospel refuse the authority of the B. of Rome. Suche is your eloquence, that you are not able manie times, to vtter your owne meaning. But by what testimonie of the Gospel, by what authority haue you proued it? Bring forth the place, presse vs with the wordes, couince vs with the commandement, shew where the Gospel hath forbidden, not darkely, but by expresse and plaine words, that we shuld not acknowledge any one man as the high Vicare of Christ in the earth.

You saie moreouer, that it standeth with reason: whereas you neuer shewed before, how reason and this your lewdnes may stande together. And yet, as though you had moste plainely and inuincibly proued the matter: you do not only cōclude verimuch besides the purpose, but also vaunt your self beyond al modestie. Some il hap come to that felow your Schoolemaister, that brought you vp so il. It is like, he toke vpon him to make you eloquent: and he made you not only a babe, but also an vntoward and a shameshew. Wherefore I would geue you counsel, to take an action against him, to make him repaie his waiges, that he tooke of you. For you bestowed your time verily il with him, the which might haue ben better spent in drawing out writes and processses in the Law. But let vs see, what reason you bring. You saie.

*Neither can the head so far frō the members disagree cōueniently.* What are you

R iiiiij yet

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*Conueniē.  
ter dissi.  
dere.*  
are M.  
Haddons  
vwords in  
Latine.

yet to learne to speake Latine? What  
meane you by this? What is to disa-  
gree conuenientlie? For the thing that  
is in it selfe conuenient, is nothing disa-  
greeable. Whereas you saie therfore,  
that a thing doth disagree conuenient-  
ly, you speake not pure and cleane La-  
tine, but you vse a monstrouse kinde  
of Latine speache. For this cause I am  
not ashamed to confesse so often, that  
I doe not vnderstand, what you saie.  
I suspect, you would saie in this place,  
that it is not possible, that the heade  
should be ioyned vnto the mem-  
bers being so farre a sunder. If you say  
so, you are much deceiued, if you be-  
leue that the cōiunction of the church  
consisteth in the nighnes of places, and  
not in the consent of faith, and agree-  
ment in one Religion. But if you doe  
comprise vnder this disordered kinde  
of speach, some other more secret my-  
steric: When you haue expounded  
your self, then peraduenture I wil an-  
swere

swere you. You say afterward. *Especiallly for somuch as this Monarchie or only soueraintie, for the which you labour so much, we haue it at hand at home with vs in Englande, so that we neede not to seeke it abroad.* It is not my part to rehearseal your woordes after you, like a childe. But I will aske you this one thing, what only power or souerainty is that? We haue, say you, the absolute authoritie of a Kinges Maiestie, wherein is conteined fully and wholly the Princelie estate of our common weale. What, would you also, that the supreme authoritie of the Church should be subiect vnto this Kingly Maiestie, as you saie? For no man euer said, that your common weale ought to be gouerned by the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome, in matters cōcerning the state of your ciuile affaires: but only, that the Church of Englande can not refuse by any means without great offence the authority of the Bishop of Rome.



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Rome. For this doe we contend and, as you saie, labour so earnestly. This is that, which you saie is nothing necessarie: for so much as the Kinges Maiestie hath an absolute authoritie amongest you, and therefore you neede not seeke any other abroad. You say therefore expressly, that your Quene doth rightfully take vpon her the gouernement of Englande in spiritual matters. And the more hardelie to presse me therewithal, you reason with me after this sorte. *But surely this seemeth vnto you, a thing not to be borne. And in this place you are so chaused, that you laie Sacrilege vnto Princes charges, because they wil rule the lawes of the Church, and unreuerently handle holy thinges.* Anon after, you counsell me like a sage and graue man, that I shoulde tempre my choler, saying vnto mee. *O Maister Ierome be not ouermuch disquieted. Such great choler and wrath is not seemely in a Philosopher.* In this place, M. Waulter,

ter, if you dally, you dally very stalely.  
If you speake in earnest, it is nothing  
true that you saie. Neither was it an-  
gre (whiche is a sodaine rage stirred  
through the opinion conceiued of dis-  
honestie) that could haue moued me  
to write those my letters, for so muche  
as I was neuer prouoked to displeasure  
with so much as one rough worde of  
any English man: but it was the loue of  
most holy Religion, and the good wil I  
beare towards the Quene, that moued  
me to send those letters, and to aduer-  
tise her to eschew the danger that han-  
ged ouer her and her Realme. Neither  
is there any token of anger to be seene  
in my talke, excepte you will cal a iust  
and lamentable complaint of the state  
of our moste vnhappie time, angre.  
But that that foloweth, howe pretily  
it was spoken? *Take breath a little.*  
As though you had with this your  
wonderfull force of talke so disquieted  
me, that I coulde not take my breath.

Then

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Then that other saying of yours; what a pleasant grace it hath : *Come to your selfe againe.* This is a foule rebuke. For it seemeth to M. Haddon a wise man, whose iudgement was alwaies simple, pure, and vncorrupted; that I am out of my wittes. Or els he would neuer warne me, to come to my selfe againe. You saie afterwarde. *You shall see all shal be wel.* That do I loke for in dede; how be it I am sore afraid, lest you being an eloquent man and wonderfull in perswading, may force me to beleue thinges, that are not proued vnto me. Yet I looke for your reason, by the which you wil proue, that it is lawfull for your Quene to meddle in Ecclesiastical matters, and to laie suche lawes vpon Churches, as her listeth. What saie you Sir? *The Kinges Maiestie,* saie you, *maistereth al persones in England.* What els? So doth the French King the French men, and the Scottish King the Scottes. I commend your briefer

nes

nes in reasoning. For you conclude al  
in one worde, as often as you list, and  
that meruelouse wittily. But yet you  
take such thinges, as are neither true,  
neither of force to conclude those  
thinges, that you would proue. For  
first of all, the gouernement of a King  
is not violent, neither tyrannical: and  
such as he hath taken vppon him to  
mainteine, like a louing Father, he doth  
not maister them like seruauñts: neither  
doth he imploye his regimēte to his  
owne commoditie, but to the safety of  
his subiectes. It is therefore false, that  
he doth maister them, except he wold  
rather be accounted a tyranne, then a  
King. Moreouer, admit it were true,  
yet doth it not folow, that he doth go-  
uerne them in al matters. That there-  
fore, that you should haue proued, you  
laie for a ground, as though it were al-  
redy proued and grañted: the which is  
one of the gretest faults, that mai be in  
a disputer. Last of al, neither doth the  
French

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french King gouerne the french men  
 in spiritual matters, neither the Scottish  
 Kinge the Scottes: and if he doe (the  
 which is nothig true) then doth he not  
 his owne office, but vsurpeth an other  
 mans. Yet you say. *But the Quene put-*  
*teth not her hand vnto holie thinges.*  
 Why so, I pray you, M, Haddon? Is it  
 bicause she thinketh it not lawfull? Or  
 els bicause she wil not? If she thinke,  
 that it is not lawfull; then doth shee  
 speake directly against you. If she be  
 occupied with other affairs, and ther-  
 fore committeth holie thinges to men  
 of the basest sort, shee doth otherwise  
 then her estate requireth. For she thin-  
 keth, that there is some other thing to  
 be preferred before holie things. You  
 say. *The ciuile affaires are cōmitted to the*  
*ciuile magistrates, the Church matters to*  
*the Bishops.* What Bishops meane you?  
 Are they those Bishops, that you haue  
 violētly thrust out of their Bishopriks,  
 and cast into the iayles? or els are they  
 such

suche as you haue caught vppe in the  
streates, and frō the alebēches, and haue  
placed thē in the roome of those most  
holibishops? O what an honorable pre  
sence of Bishops is that, for all subiects  
to reuerence, and al il men to be afraid  
of? But I would faine learne of you,  
what goodly glosse of vertue was that,  
that moued you to place those base  
felowes in this roome and dignitie?  
Was it their meruelouse and chaste life,  
which you can not abide? Was it the  
knowledge of holie Scriptures, the  
which thei had learned in tauernes, or  
in scholes, where perhappes they had  
ben Maisters? Was it their wonderful  
eloquence, wherewith thei were able  
to withdrawe the cōmon people from  
licentious liuing to continency, which  
they them selues abhorre? For it is to  
be thought, that they that 'deprived  
those godlie and learned Bishoppes of  
al their dignities, would not haue done  
such wrong vnto the vertuous men:  
vnlesse

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vnlesse they had meant to set other in their places, that did very farre exceede them in all godlines, learning and eloquence.

But I wold demaünd one thing of you: if they be so holi, so lerned, and so eloquēt, wherfore did you not cōmit vnto them aboue all other this care and charge to write against me? Wherfore would you betray to the worlde your owne ignoaāce and babishnesse? Was there suche a scarcity of learned Bishops, that you must needes take vpon you a charge that was none of yours, no nor seemely for you to medle in? For, to mainteine Religion, apperteineth to a Bishop, not to a man, that is tourmoiled in the suites and questions of the ciuile Law. If they did not excel in such vertues and qualities as are to be required in Bishops, what a forward malice was that to thrust out the good Bishops, and to put such base felowes in their roomes and dignities?

Ypu

You politike wise man, doe you not see that that common weale is neere to vtter ruine and decaie, wherein such honours as are dewe to honestie and vertue are geauen to base varlettes? But be it, that they had ben promoted to this honour for their excellent qualities (for I can not wel gesse the truth of the matter: and it maie be that thei were, before thei came to that dignitie, put to schoole to Bucere or els to your Martyr:) but sir, I demaunde of you, by what right or iustice was it done? Howbeit as touching iustice you haue already satisfied me, when you affirmed, that within the cōpasse of the Queenes Maiesties authoritie is contained, what so euer concerneth God or man. But yet I pray you tell me, with what ceremonie, with what solemnitie, with what Religion was it done? Who laied handes on them? who cōsecrated them? I would know what holines and puritie you vsed in

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the doing of it. For it is like, that such fine and deintie felowes as you are, were offended with our ceremonies, (the which peraduētūre might seeme vnto you very stale and old) and therefore you deuised other much trimmer then oures, the whyche you haue brought not neere, but, as you terme it, exceding neere to the very paterne of the gospel.

You say afterward, *that the Church matters are ordered by the bishops: but when there is ought to be decreed, the diuines do determine it.* It is euident, that you cal the diuines, who were brought vp vnder Bucer or Calvin. Why then haue you diminished the right of bishops? for it pertaineth to the bishops to determine: the diuines haue nomore to doe, but only to assise the bishoppes with their aduise. But you in geauing ouer the right of the bishops to the diuines, declare, that your bishops are no diuines. Your bishops therefore are (as  
the

the common report is) not only poore  
scrapers and base felowes, but also vt-  
terly ignorant in the holie Scriptures.  
And menne say, that the principall  
cause whie they are chosen, is, that  
they muste content them selues with  
some scantling of their reuenewes, and  
leane the rest to be rifled of you vnder  
pretence of the Queenes eschequer. If  
this be not true, you muste not blame  
me, a man (as you say your selfe) vnac-  
quainted in the affaires of Englād: but  
the false report of your il willers. Yet,  
this I warne you, that you and such as  
you are, doe susteine the great dint  
of this infamie. For when you choose  
suche Bishops, you make menne su-  
specte, that you are greedie and coue-  
teous.

You conclude at the length, that  
both the administratiō of the bishops,  
and decrees of the diuines are autho-  
rised by the confirmation of the Que-  
nes Maiestie. Whie then, if there

S ij shalbe

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shalbe anie thing done by the bishops, or els determined by the diuines, that is not for the Queenes profite, that shal not be ratified.

Here you speake darkely, I can not tel what, of the Kinges of Israel, as though the Priestes in olde time had done al thinges, that concerned religion, after the prescribed ordre of kinges: the which is false. You say afterward. *Then the gospel succeeding and diuiding these powers, in the first place it setteth the authoritie of Kinges, and vnder it other powers by the authoritie of Peter and Paule, whose names you abuse to set up the kingdom of the sea of Rome.*

Flatterie. O what a plague and destruction of common weales, what a whirle wind and tempest to your most flourishing Ilād, what an vtter ruine and decaie of al kingdomes and peoples is this, that is comprised vnder the naughtines, audacitie, crueltie, and coueteousnes of flatterers? What wild beast can anie

sell

man

man deuise in the worlde more horrible and crewel, then it is? For what so euer the pleasure of Kinges standeth vnto, be it neuer so wicked, heinous and vngodly, be it not only hurtful to the common weale, but also contrary to al good and godly ordre: it is made forthwith by those clawbackes, whome thei cal to their counsel, to be dewtiful, iust, commédable, religious, most wholesome to the cōmon weale, and most acceptable to God. The which thing is wel knowen to haue chaunced vnto king Henry, who was vntil that time both for his vertue, wit, and deedes a moste noble and renowned Prince. For when as the king had cōceiued an earnest loue, and also an earnest displeasure, and was desirous both to satisfie his loue, and also to reuēge the displeasure taken of the Pope (who forbad the new mariage) he was brought, by the persuation and authority of a certaine wicked man, to be-

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leue, that he was suprem head of al the Churches that are within the realme of England. This thing was the vndoing of the bishop of Rochester, and More, and of other holie mē, that abid extreme punishments: if a most honorable death constantly suffred for the glory of Christ and establisshing of religion may be called an vndoing. From hence as out of a floudgate issued so many pestilent opiniōs, such a broile of sectes and heresies, suche outrages of lewd felowes into the state of the Church of Englād, to the great decay of the auncient custome.

But what was the place, the which that most vile corrupter would abuse to proue it? Submit your selues, saith S. 1. Pet. 2.6. Peter, to euery wordly wight for gods sake, whether it be to the King, as to the more excellēt personage, or els to the rulers, as sent frō God, for the punishment of malefactours, and cōmendation of good men. what other thing doth

doth S. Peter in these words but only cut of al occasion of disordre and outrage: for he would not, that, by the pretended name of the libertie of the gospel, the cōmon weale should be disordered, or the society of men by ciuill policie gathered together be dissolued. And therfore doth he bind al Christiā men to the lawes and ordinaunces of menne, so that they be not against the lawe of God. He commaundeth seruantes to obey their maisters, be they neuer so crewel: womē to obey their husbandes: husbandes to honour their wiues: children to obei their parentes: parentes to loue their children, and to prouide for their bringing vppe and mayntenaunce. Finally the holie Apostle commaundeth, that ordre both in commaunding and obeying be kept (whether it be publike or priuat) without any grudging or pretending of excessiue libertie. The which ordre was to be kept of Christian men with so

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Ro. 13. 4.

much the more diligence, as it was convenient, that their vertue should shine more then the vertue of other menne. The selfe same thing doth S. Paule, when he warneth vs to submitte our selues to the magistrates, and to obey the lawfull comaundementes of Princes. He teacheth maisters and seruantes, parents and childre, husbands and wiues the very same lessons.

I demaund now of you, what goodly pregnant wit is this of yours, or rather of them that brought you into so great an error: that they would picke such a meaning, as you speake of, out of these words of S. Peter? Did this word, More excellent, moue you to doe it? Surely that were a manifest token of a verie great folie, and extreme madness. For so do we saie in common speech, that that man doth excell in nobilitie, or is More excellent, whiche is in deede verie noble, although he be not of all other moste noble. So doe

doe we saie also, that a man excell-  
leth, or is More excellent then other,  
in vertue, or learning or authoritie, the  
which passeth other in these qualities,  
although he passe not al the worlde in  
them. The selfe same signification and  
meaning hath the Greeke word *ὑπερ-  
χον* and such is the vse of it. Moreouer  
when we saie, that anie man excelleth  
in some one thing, we doe not by and  
by in so saying yeald, that he doth ex-  
cel in al thinges: but in that thing only,  
whereof we spake. If mention were  
made of the ciuile law, and we would  
saie, that M. Waulter Haddon did ex-  
cel in the knowledge of the ciuile law:  
we did not in so saying geaue him au-  
thoritie to expounde the holie Scrip-  
tures, wherein he is altogether igno-  
rant.

I woulde now demaunde of you,  
what matter was S. Peter about, when  
he said that the king was the more ex-  
cellent personage? Was he about the  
gouerne-



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gouernment of Churches; or thinges apperteining to religiō? No doubtles, but abowte ciuile gouernement, the which he would not haue to be disordered by anie sedition.

What goeth S. Paul about, when he commaundeth vs to submit our selues to all powers? The selfe same thing, that S. Peter doth. And to confirme that, he sheweth that all power is ordeined and appointed by God. And to teache vs, that this is our bownden dewtie by the law of God, he saith: Geaue therfore to al men their dewe. Tribute, to whome you owe tribute: custume, to whom you owe custume: feare, to whome feare is dewe: and honour, to whom honour apperteineth. It liketh not the Apostles to haue anie sedition or broile in the cōmon weale, or anie thing that maie distourbe the peace and good order. And therfore; although Princes were at that time verie ill affected towards the moste holie

Rom. 13.4

holie ordinaūces of Christ: yet in matters appertaining to the ciuile gouernment, they cōmaund al Christian men, not only to obey their Princes, but also to make their hūble praiers vnto God for their good estate. S. Peter therfore gaue not vnto the king, in calling him more excellent, the supreme authoritie in the Churth: (neither did anie man euer dreame of that besides you) but he graunted vnto him the supreme power in the ciuile gouernment.

1. Tim. 2. 8

Tel me, I praie you, who helde the kingdome at that time, when S. Peter wrote these thinges? either it was Caius, or Claudius, or Nero. For Tiberius (which was also a naughtie and vniust man, as we maie coniecture) was dead before. Is this your iudgement then M. Haddon, that Peter and Paul did commaunde, that the President of the Church should doe nothing, but by order of Caius, or Claudius, or Nero: that he should reteine such Priestes  
onlie

onlie, as they wuld haue and put away the rest, if it liked the emperour: that he should, if there chaunced any difficultie or hard question in the Church, referre it to Cesar: or that (to be short) he should minister all the ceremonies and sacramentes of our religion according to Nero his pleasure? If these thinges be voided of al wit and reason, then is that your opinion, whervpon these thinges doe necessaliy folowe, suche, that if you would studie for it, you can not deuise anie thing more foolish and vnreasonable.

But you will saie, that this sentence of S. Peter pertaineth not to suche Princes as are enemies to the faith of Christ, but only to Christian Princes. If you saie so, then are you of this mind, that S. Peter gaue this comaundement to the Christians, that, so long as such men reigned, as were not well affected towards the name of Christ, they shoulde not acknowledge their autho-

authority, they should not regard their officers and magistrates, they shoulde despise their lawes, they shoulde like rebelles disorder the peace and tranquillitie of the common weale. The which it were a verie great madnes to speake. For then to what pourpose should S. Peter bring in this sentence afterward. That you maie, saith he, by well doing put the ignorance of foolish men to silēce. Doutlesse, if they had not obeied vngodlie Princes, no man would haue ben put to silence by them: but euerie man would haue set vpon them, (and that for their desert) as vpon peace breakers and enemies to al good order.

1. Pet. 2. 6.

If then neither the signification of the word requireth it, neither wil reason beare it, neither the comely diuision of the orders ecclesiasticall and temporal by anie meanes in the world suffer it, that kinges should beare anie swaie in the Church; what a straunge kind

kind of flatterie was this in you, to yeld vnto kinges a full power and supreme authoritie in Churches? But what a shameles part is that in you, to affirme by the authoritie of S. Peter and Paul, that the authoritie of kinges is aboue al other authorities? I graunt you, that kinges are by the authoritie of S. Peter set ouer al rulers and gouerners in the ciuile gouernemēt: but not ouer things appertaining to religiō, not ouer the holi ordināces of the church, not ouer the sacramentes and seruice made to appease the wrath of God.

And whereas you saie, that we doe abuse th'authoritie of S. Peter and Paul to set vp the kingdome of the sea of Rome, it is false. For we leane to the wordes of Christ, when we defend the authoritie of the bishop of Rome: and who so euer doth violently wrest the most plaine woordes of Christe, we iudge him to be a presumptuous fellow, we take him for an vnreasonable, naughtie

naughtie and wicked persone. But before I procede vnto other matters, I thinke it expedient briefly to signifie these thinges vnto you.

Dathan and Abiron, for vsing violence towards the Priestes of God, were with a terrible noise and sodeine earthquake deuowred with all the companie of their wicked complices. Core in like manner with the rest of his conspiracie, for taking vpō them impudētly and wickedly the office of Priestes, were cōsumed with sodeine fier. Oza, bycause he presumed a litle to staie vp with his hād the Ark of promise being like to fall, was sodeinly stryken dead. Ozias the king, bycause he wold haue vsurped the office of a Priest, was diffigured with the lepry. Balsezar the king of Babilō, bicause he tooke the vessels that were appointed to holie vses, and did vse them to riot ādbāket in, lost in one night his kingdome, his riches, and his life. But you, neither doe you feare the

Laie men  
plagued  
of God  
for taking  
vpō them  
the office  
of Priestes.  
*Num. 16. 4*

*2. Re. 6. 4.*

*2. Paral.  
26. d.  
Daniel. 5.  
g.*

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the euerlasting goulfe of hell, neither doe you tremble at the thunder and fier of Gods wrath, neither are you afraied of any punishment dewie vnto your rash presumptuousnes, neither do you regard the leprie of perpetual infamie, neither doe you take anie care, lest ye be robbed and spoiled of the riches of the euerlasting kingdome together with the losse of your wordlie dignitie, and temporal life.

But all these things not withstanding, you leaue not to raile at the Popes dignitie. What (a mischiefe) hatred is this towards the Pope, so crewell and so bitter, that you repete one thing so often? You say thus. *But you contend not only for the Popes sceptre, but also for his holy ordinaunces and Decrees: (as you esteeme them) by the decaie whereof you thinke that all feare is vanished awaye out of mens hartes.* This is true. For being once agreed that the authoritie of the Pope is good and godly: it  
solow.

foloweth, that we must obey his ordinances and lawes. For as Kinges, to whome God hath comitted the ciuile gouernement in the common weale, not contenting them selues with the holie scriptures, such as concerne the state of the comon weale (for so much as al things that maie happen in diuers kindes of comon weales, could not be comprised in them) haue made other statutes and lawes, the which all men are bownd to obey by the law of God: so the Bishops of Rome, to whome is committed the rule and gouernement of the vniuersal Church (although you swel and burst at it) doe make decrees, not only by word, but also in writing, as the times require: the which all we, that beare the name of Christian men, are bownd to obserue and keepe.

As for the feare, the whiche, I saied, was taken quite awaie by you, I doe impute it, not only to the decaying of the Canon lawe, but muche

T more



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more to the neglecting and despising of the lawe of God . For I saie , that through the decrees of Luther the feare of Goddes iudgement and euerlasting damnation is vtterly quenched. *I haue heard, saie you , that verie manie men haue ben by the Canons exceedingly enriched:but I haue not heard,that manie haue ben instructed in the feare of God.* What M. Haddon ? Such as folow the studie of the ciuile lawe, are they al instructed in the feare of God? No truly. And yet you woulde not haue the whole ciuile lawe to be burned for that. For the ordinaunces of Princes are not to be disanulled for the malice and crasse of the interpretours:but the lewdnes of such as turne all lawes to their owne gaine and aduantage were most seuerely to be restrained . And yet you saie, that you doe obserue the decrees of Popes, bicause they are not a litle profitable . The whiche thing truly

truly I meruaile muche at, for two  
cawses. First, bicause in this pointe  
yon dissent from the most holie fa-  
ther Luther, who, as you saie, was  
sent from heauen. For he burned all  
the Popes decrees in suche sorte, that  
he left not one of them. Then, bi-  
cause all your trade so dependeth of  
heauen, that you esteeme all wordlie  
thinges no better woorth, but to be  
cast awaie.

Whereas you saie, that I doe ac-  
cuse your Doctours, bicause they  
haue cawsed a certaine vnrestreined  
libertie in suche as they teache: I  
graunt I am yet of that opinion, and  
howe true it is, I will declare here-  
after.

You complaine afterward, that I  
mocke those your holie men. Your  
woordes are these. *I woulde haue you  
to remembre, what your great Maister  
of eloquence wrote sometime verie wise-  
ly: that it is an vngodlie costume to daly*

*I y against*

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*against the Gods, whether it be done in earnest or in sport.* You are to superstitious, M. Haddon, and I see now, that Luther is a holie God with you, and that you praie, that Bucer wil be mercifull vnto you, and that you thinke, that you must appease with sacrifice the maiestie of your Martyr also. For these men do you esteeme as Goddes: and therefore I looke when you will erecte aulters vnto them. For els, what other Goddes did I euer iest at? Then by like these are the Goddes, of whose displeasure you warne me to beware. But whereas you saie, that I do vse iesting wordes againste Christe, in that point you folow your maisters, which are in the mysterie of lying very handsome craftesmen.

You chalenge me to dispute, a thing ful vnseemelie for your persone. For you vnderstād not the scriptures, no, Luther him selfe could not, (being, as he was, altogether blinded in vice and wicked.

wickednes)discerne , what great light was in them. And this is the cause why he is caried to and fro , so diuersly , so dowbtfully, and so vncertainly, that to this daie no man in the world is able to saie for certaine : this was his opinion. For at one time he affirmeth , that all standeth in only faith: and he bringeth me in such a faith, as , if it be once receued, al good works are put to flight. At an other time being ouercome by the very force of truth it selfe, and aduertised by his frindes to auoid the enuie of men , he seeketh out the good works againe. I would you wold read ouer my bookes of Iustification: and I iudge , you should not neede to be to seeke in anie point , concerning this matter, which you now speake of.

*We beleue, saie you, the gospel. You do wel. But the deuils beleue also, and quake for feare . But what saierh the gospel? That there is no dāger, saie you, of damnation to them, that are grassed in* *Rom. 8. a.*  
*I iij Christ:*

*Christ: that line not according to the flesh but according to the spirit. For I wil not goe farre from the verie woordes of the holie scriptures, lest I maie seeme in some point to deale not uprightly. That seemeth in deede, M. Haddon, to be the propertie of a perfect lawier, to mainteine the written word of the law, and to goe sometimes directly against the meaning of the lawe. But, I praie you, what words are those, the which you might in no wise leaue out? S. Paul, say you, after a long and earnest disputation concludeth, that he thought, that we are iustified by faith without the woorkes of the law. What S. Paul hath concluded, I know very wel: but what you wold conclude, I doe not yet perfectly vnderstand. We must needes yeld, saie you: we are not able to discredite the gospel. But yet we must take that withal out of the selfe same S. Paul: faith that worketh by charitie. If we doe keepe these thinges ioyned together: you maie not separate them,*

Ro. 3. d

Galat. 5. a

them, and so reason againste an errour,  
whiche hath none other author besides  
your owne selfe. By these your wordes I  
doe coniecture, M. Haddon, that your  
opiniō is, wheras S. Paul saith, that no  
man is iustified by workes, and againe,  
that we must kepe that faith that wor-  
keth by charity: (although these things  
maie seeme to disagree the one with  
the other) yet that we maie not in anie  
wise depart from the verie wordes of  
the gospel. And how so euer the ioy-  
ning together of these thinges maie  
seeme to be a hard matter: yet for so  
much as S. Paul is the authour of it, it  
were a presumptuous acte to go about  
to separate what S. Paul hath ioyned.

But I am of a cōtrary opiniō, that this  
only argumēt is sufficient to proue, that  
S. Paul neuer spake these thigs, bicause  
they hāg not together. For what thing  
standeth better together and is more  
agreable, then the reasoning and do-  
ctrine of S. Paul? And nothing is lesse

T iiii agrea-

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Onlie  
faith iusti-  
fieth not.

*Rom. 2. b.*

agreable then this : that iustice is not  
geauen without that faich, that woor-  
keth by charitie: and, that no man can  
be iustified by works. Not the hearers  
of the law, saierh S. Paul, but the doers  
of the law, they shal be iustified. They  
therfore that doe the thing, that is cō-  
maunded in the law, by the authoritie  
of S. Paul are iust before God. If that be  
true, what is more cōtrary to the mea-  
ning of S. Paul, then to saie, that no mā  
is made iust by workes? You therfore  
knit those things together, that cā not  
be ioyned. But I would stand in it, and  
proue by this reason only, if I had none  
other, that S. Paul wold neuer speak it.

Whereas you saie, that I doe fight or  
contend against an errour, it soundeth  
to my commendacion. For what good-  
lier thing can I doe, them to plucke vp  
pestilent opinions by the roote?

But when you bring in vpō this, that  
of the selfe same errour, which I con-  
tēd against, ther is none other authour  
bifides

bifides myne owne felfe, we had nede  
of Oedipus to expound it. You haue  
a meruelous liking in darke sayinges.  
Heard you it euer reported, that I  
should fay, that the workes of holie  
menne were defiled and spotted with  
synne, and that for this cause no man  
could atteine iustice by holy workes?  
This is the errour whiche I doe stand  
againft. But you wil not once fay fo,  
and yet you are fo babifh, that you can  
not vtter, what you thinke. But the  
fumbling of your tongue we wil lette  
paffe, and confider howe fowly you  
are ouerfeene in weightie matters.

You faie, that woorkes are not a-  
uaileable to iustification, and yet, you  
fay, that workes are not to be despised,  
for fo much as we haue both thefe o-  
pinions grounded vpon the authoritie  
of S. Paul. The principal deuifours and  
Archbuylders of your newe goppell,  
whome you worshippe as Goddes, of  
whome you learned thefe myfteries,  
went



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Luthers  
most dā-  
nable do-  
ctrine tou-  
ching  
Workes.

went further then so, and said plainly,  
that al the workes, the which holy mē  
doe, are not only vnprofitable, but al-  
so vncleane and spotted through the  
contagion of originall synne. For they  
doe not beleeeue, that originall or en-  
grafted synne, the whiche we tooke  
from the spring, is quite blotted out in  
the baptisme of life: but that it grow-  
eth still, and casteth out such a deale  
of vncleane vice, that all the doinges  
of holy men, although thei be done by  
the mocion and instincte of the holie  
Ghost, yea and referred to the glorie  
of Christ, yet they are deadlie synnes,  
and deserue of iustice the punishment  
of euerlasting damnation, without the  
great goodnes and mercie of Christ. If  
it be but litle ciuilitie, as you saie, (and  
as yt pleaseth your great lawier to  
write also) to iudge of a lawe, vnlesse  
it be thoroughly weighed and consi-  
dered: reade diligently the bookes of  
Luther, Melanchthon, Caluine, and  
other

other your learned men, and you shall see, that this was their opinion, or rather that the whole somme of the doctrine, whiche they professed, stode vpon this opinion, that they condemned al workes as wicked and synfull.

You see here an extreme desperation of attaining vnto iustice. For if no man can be iust, but he only that keepeth the law, as S. Paule saith: if not he that saith Lord, Lord, shal enter into the kingdome of heauen, as our Lord him selfe declareth plainely, but he that doth the wil of the Father: if iustice, as the Prophetes witnesse, is a shunning of all vices, and an earnest desire to folowe vertue and honestie: if iustice cōsisterh in cleanes of life, in innocencie, in good and seemelie ordre of the mind, in holy conuersation, in newnes of heauenly life, and in the cōtinual exercise of charity: and we be able, neither to keepe the commaundementes of God, neither to forsake vice,

*Rom. 2.6.*

*Mat. 7.6.*

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vice, neither to folowe honestie, neither to doe the woorkes of charitie, if it be so, that, (wil we, nil we) we must needes beare the yoke of synne: by what meanes in the worlde shall we be able to assure our selues of the state of iustice, through the grace and mercie of Christe, if Christe hath not yet broken the force of synne in vs by the merite of his bloude, as your maisters say? You see here, after what sort that man, that was (as you say) sent from heauen, hath cut of by his deuises all hope of atteinig vnto iustice. But see on the other side, how wittily he hath deuised a remedie, and how al the rest haue folowed him.

He saith, that no man hath anie particular iustice through the grace of Christ, but that the iustice of Christe him selfe is applied to all beleeuers by faith, in such sorte, that the iustice of Christ is no lesse accōpted and esteemed in euerie faithfull man (be he ne-

uer

ner so wicked) then if it were that mā  
owne iustice, that staieth vppon faith  
onely. He sayth therefore, that it co-  
meth to passe through this faith, by the  
which euerie Christian man assureth  
him selfe that he is in the fauour of  
God, that the iustice of Christ is impu-  
ted to be the iustice of that man, that  
beleueth. You haue here the law of  
Luther, so muche as concerneth this  
present place, thoroughly scanned, so  
that you can not iustly complaine of  
any wrong done vnto Luther.

Nowe consider you on the other  
side, what a meruelouse easie waie he  
hath deuised to atteyne vnto iustice.  
For to whome shal it not be a very ea-  
sie matter (if he wil beleue Luther) to  
say thus with him selfe? This geare  
goeth gaily wel with me. I am in high  
fauour with God for my faithes sake.  
It is so, that the iustice of Christ is be-  
come mine owne iustice. I am there-  
fore as iuste as Paule, as Peter, yea as  
the

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the moſte bleſſed mother of God her ſelfe: for ſomuch as no man hath the cōmendation of any particulare iuſtice through the grace of Chriſt: but there is one only iuſtice applied indifferētly to al ſuch as keepe the faith: the which bicauſe it can not be higher or lower, greater or leſſer, it foloweth, that I am ſo iuſte my ſelfe ( although there remaine ſynne in me ) as he that is moſt iuſt.

You ſee now, how by the diligence of this excellent ſelow, all feare is put to flight, preſumption ſet on tip toe, boldhardineſſe confirmed in her full ſtrēgth and force. For ſo much as therefore a man can not be earneſtly provoked to doe any vertuouſe acte, being either in extreme deſpaire or elles in extreme preſumption: and Luther hath in parte cutte of all hope of iuſtice, and in parte hath brought his diſciples into a moſte preſumptuous affiaunce of atteyning vnto it, by deuiſing

uising an other iustice that was neuer  
 hearde of before : is it not euident,  
 although to eschewe enuie he spake  
 sometymes manie thinges concer-  
 ning the woorkes of iustice , that he  
 quenched all loue and desire of well  
 doing? For , I praye you , by what  
 meanes wil you encourage a faint man  
 to doe anie honest thing , if he haue  
 learned before of some graue person,  
 that such as endeuour them selues to  
 doe anie vertuouse acte, doe but loose  
 their labour?

Agayne , howe will you driue the  
 feare of euerlasting damnation into  
 them , that are altogether carelesse,  
 and presume so muche of their owne  
 iustice , that they belecue , that no  
 man doth passe them in any excel-  
 lencie of iustice? Wherefore no man  
 in the worlde wil euer bend him selfe  
 to doe holie woorkes ( if he hearken  
 to the Doctrine of Luther ) for so  
 much as it is impossible , that any man,  
 being

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being either in extreme despaire of honestie, or elles in extreme presumption of saluation, should earnestly endeavour him selfe to folow godlines.

But, you wil say, that it may be, that Luther did exhort his countrey men to good workes in his Bookes and sermons. I know that wel. So did Epicure him selfe, when he had with Decrees taken away al vertue, yet woulde he dispute now and then of vertue very notably. I consider not, what the light felowe saith sometime, either through the inclination of nature, or elles for feare of enuie: but I see, what is most agreeable to his decrees and doctrine. This is most vndoubtedly true, that, when thinges are either vtterly despaired, or certainly assured, there is no man, that wil take any great paines in folowing of vertue. Therefore, for so much as Luther hath shewed him selfe to be the authour both of this extreme desperation, as also of that, extreme

treme presumptiō: who doth not see, that, by him, al good and godly works hath ben quite ouerthrowen? Wherefore this was in him a great fault, a cruel deede, a shamelesse acte, a wicked crime, an intolerable villanie: but yet was that other muche more heynouse and detestable, that he woulde wrest the godlie and wise saying of S. Paule after his owne pleasure, and abuse the testimonie of the holy Apostle to confirme his shameles opiniō and doctrine.

But let vs now see, howe you will make Luther the defacer of all vertue, labour, diligence, and industrie: to agree with S. Paule, the high Schoolemaister of al holines, religion and vertue? S. Paule, say you, faith, that there is nothing available to saluation, besides faith that worketh by charitie. The selfe same Paul faith, that no man is iustified by woorkes. It is therefore euident, say you, that these two points are ioyned together.

V

But



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But I say on the other side, that, for so much as these things do disagree exceedingly the one frō the other, it is impossible, that euer S. Paul should ioyne them together. But that it may be sene how il your maisters vnderstād S. Paul: it is to be cōsidered, what his meaning was, what he went about, what intention and purpose he had, as in al his Epistles, so especially in this, whiche he wrot to the Romains, out of the which you haue taken these testimonies corruptly vnderstood.

A sound  
and catho  
like do-  
ctrine tou  
ching  
vvorkes.

What was then the purpose of S. Paul in this Epistle? Doubtlesse this, to withdraw men from all assiaunce in worldly things to the faith of Christ. He teacheth therfore, that there was no sure staie of saluation, neither in nature, neither in the ordinaunces of the olde Law. For it was neither nature, neither the law, that toke away iniquity, and brought in iustice, in the which only stādeth our saluation and honour.

For

For only iustice procureth the sauiour  
of God towards mankind.

And first that nature of it self holpe  
nothing towards iustice; he proueth  
by this argument: because all menne,  
which staid vpon nature only; although  
they were endewed with excellent  
witte, yet they were spotted with in-  
iquitie; with vncleane lustes, malice,  
couetousnes, dishonestie of life, cruel-  
tie, and with other vices vnseemly to  
be named. As though he shoulde saie  
thus. If the excellencie of nature, if the  
sharpenesse of witte, if the force of the  
mind and reason had holpen any thing  
towards iustice: then had the Gentils;  
which excelled in nature, in wit, and  
in reason, ben well appointed and fur-  
nished for al helpes and staies of iustice.  
But the brightnes of iustice shone not  
amongest them: (for they were full  
of iniquity and vices without number)  
wherefore the excellencie of nature  
holpe them nothing to liue iustly.

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Then turning him self to the Iewes, he vrgeth the selfe same argument, but more earnestly and with greater force. For he had entered into a most earnest cōflict with the Iewes, as touching the ceremonies of the old Law: the which the Iewes, thought necessarie to kepe stil, beleuing that the soules were purged by them. Against whom S. Paule disputeth, declaring that al the ordināces of the Law, which were but only shadowes of iustice, vanished away at the coming of the true and perfect iustice: and that suche as referred the cause of iustice vnto those shadowes, appaired the honour of Christe. For they distrusted the power and merite of Christ. And therefore writing vnto the Galatians, he saith. If you be circumcised, Christe shal doe you no good. In like manner writing to the Hebrewes, he saith, that the Lawe broughte nothings to perfection, but that it stirred vp men with shadowes  
*Gal. 5, 4.*  
*Hebr. 7. c.*  
only

only and Images to the hope of the saluation to come. And those ceremonies and sacrifices ordeined by the law, the which in this place and in the epistle to the Galathians, he termeth the woorkes of the Lawe, writing to the Hebrewes, he calleth them the iustices of the flesh. S. Paul therefore speaketh of this part of the Lawe, whiche *Hebr. 9. 6.* consisteth in shadowes of iustice, which containeth the cleansing of the bodie, and reacheth not vnto the soule, whē he saith, that no man is iustified by the woorkes of the Lawe. This was the meaning of S. Paule, and the conclusion of that so long and earnest disputation, which you speake of. As though he would saie thus. If Circumcision, if the sprinkeling of ashes, if the offering vppe of brute beastes, if the other cleansinges of the Law did make men iust, it should folow, that al the Iewes which obserued and kept orderly the holie ceremonies of the Lawe, attei-

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ned vnto iustice. But it is euident, that  
al such Iewes as leaned and trusted vn-  
to the lawe only, were naughty men,  
vncleane liuers, backbiters, murderers,  
and wicked persones: Wherefore they  
receined not the fruit of iustice by the  
law. And so it remaineth, that no man  
is iustified by the workes of the lawe.

If you haue any wit at al, this reason  
concluding so apely maie teach you,  
what workes S. Paule meant, when he  
saied, that no man is iustified by the  
workes of the law. For otherwise what  
could any man haue said more vnapt-  
ly, woorse hanging together, and lesse  
to the purpose? If S. Paule had said, that  
the Iewes had excelled in cleane liuing,  
in godlines and innocētie, and yet that  
such vertuos dedes had helped nothig  
towards iustice: if he had vpon these  
thinges concluded, that they were not  
iustified by the workes of the law: you  
might well haue gessed, that by the  
workes of the law, he had vnderstoode  
the

the deedes of vertue and godlines. But S. Paul neuer spake any such word. No, he declareth plainly by the testimonie of the law it selfe, that such as bestowed much diligēce and labour about the ordināces of the law, wer very naughty and wicked men: whereupon he cōcludeth, that the works of the law did not iustifie. What then? Think you that S. Paul doth cōclude his argumēt vpon things that are not proued and agreed vpon, as you do? If you presume to say so, then shal you falsly charge the wisdom of the holy man with the crime of rashnes and folie. The whiche thing how far it is from S. Paul, is wel known to al suche as studie his writings with a pure intētion. For what can be deuised more witty and better applied, fuller of wisdom and more earnestly endited, then the reasoning and style of S. Paule? His Arguments are al so well linked within them selues the one dependeth of an other

Works of  
the lawe  
do not iu-  
stifie.

so aptly, they are knit together so finely, the seconde cometh in vppon the first, the last answereth vnto the middelmost so necessarily, he chaineth all the whole discourse in one, with such an excellent order and cunning, that it is not possible to finde any one pointe in al his talke, that agreeth not wonderfully wel with his meaning expressed in any other place before. It is therefore gathered by the reason it self of S. Paule, ( which concludeth verie aptly ) what workes of the Law those are, by the which, he saith, no man is made iust. They are those workes, the which S. Paule plucketh at euermore in his disputatiō, against the which he contendeth moste earnestly, from the affiance of the which he endeuoureth to withdraw the Iewes: for the cause of the which he was cruelly assaulted of the Iewes, and oftentimes put in great peril of his life.

Now if you desire to know, wherefore

fore these sacrifices of the Lawe, are called the woorkes of the lawe: howe those woorkes also, which are done by the strength of reason only, (vnto the which men leane and trust to much, and therefore require against al reason a reward for them, not accordinge to grace, but of duetie) are to be accounted emongest the woorkes of the Law: how the woorkes of godlines, charitie, humanitie and vertue are to be referred vnto the power and holinesse of faith: in how great blindenes thei are, the whiche not vnderstandinge these places of S. Paule, and wresting them from their true meaning, abuse them to proue, that the woorkes of holy men are not only vnprofitable, but also wicked: I haue declared these thinges plainely ynough in my bookes written of iustice, which are now abroad: and therefore I thinke it not nedefull to repeat them againe in this place. I doe not therefore pul in sunder such things  
as



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as are ioyned together by reason: but the things, that are disagreeable and contrary the one to the other, I can not abide to see them hudled vp together without reason. For, seing that S Paule doth most earnestly exhorte vs. to the loue of vertue, innocēcy and charitie: saying, that euery mā shalbe rewarded according to his workes: seing that he affirmeth, that al such as are ioyned vn to Christ, are washed and clenfed of al vnclanes of syn, and are become holy: yea and that they are for cleannes of life and brightnes of vertue comparable to the sterres: what thing in the world could haue bē spokē more cōtrary to this saying, so oftē and so cōstantly repeted, then to affirme, that suche, as the Apostle reporteth to be cleane, holy, cleere, most excellētly beutified with the brightnes of heauēly vertues, are spotted with sinnes, and that their workes are not only nothing available towards the heap and perfection of iustice, but also that thei are vnclene, sin-

ful, and disteined with the contagious infection of our corrupted nature?

But let vs cōsider the place of S. Paul it selfe, which you alleage. *S. Paule, say you, warāteeth, that there is no danger of dānation in such as are ēgraffed in Christ.*

Rom. 8. 1.

*But we take that withal, that foloweth in the same place: such as liue not accordig to the flesh, but according to the spirit. You doe wel to take in that withal. But loe vs see, what are they, that walke, as S. Paul saith, accordig to the flesh? Doublesse thei are those, which are, as S. Paul writing to the Galathians saith, corrupted and defiled with auoutrie, with the filthie pleasure of the bodie, with vn-cleanes of life, with cursed superstition, with hatred, with making debate and strife betweene men, with stirring vppe troubles and discorde, with pestilente sectes, with enuie, murder and creweltie, with drunkenes, and glottonie, with these and other the like vices, of the which saith the*

Gal. 5. 6.

Apostle,

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Apostle, I tel you now, as I haue also told you before, that who soeuer doth such thinges, shal neuer possesse the inheritance of God. He excepteth no man, he saied not, vnlesse they haue faith: for it is like that this light of the new Gospell had not yet shined in his eyes. And what they are, that liue according to the Spirit, the Apostle declarerh, saying, that they are suche, as enioye the most sweete and plesauant fruit of the Spirite. Nowe the fruit of the spirit, as he saith, is charity, gladnes, peace, constancie in vertue, gentlenes, bowntifulnes, faith (not meaning that slacke faith, but such a faith, as is ioyned with obedience) mekenes, continencie, and other the like commendable vertues, against the whiche no man can procede by law. And yet a manne might doe it, in case they were spotted and defiled with any sinne. S. Paule therfore doth in no wise promise the inheritance of the euerlasting kingdome

kingdom to them that leane to the on-  
ly faith of Luther : but to suche as doe  
good workes, and direct all the doings  
of their life to the glorie of Christ.

Here wil you crie out againe , and  
protest the faith of Gods and men, that  
this is a notable slaunder, and not to be  
borne : and that you did not put suche  
affiaunce in onely Faith , but that you  
determined withal, that good workes  
were also necessarie vnto saluation .

I will not as now dispute , howe farre  
from al reason it is , to put any hope or  
affiaunce of saluation in a thing, that is  
vncleane and wicked . And therfore,  
if al workes , as Luther saith, are defi-  
led with sinne: then are thei not to be  
wrought diligētly, but to be neglected  
and despised. But omitting this matter,  
we wil consider, how these works, be  
they neuer so euil, yet must thei nedes  
be had of you : ( for this pointe haue I  
searched out with much diligēce.) Bi-  
cause, say they, they folow faith of ne-  
cessitie :

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cessitie: not for that, that workes doe make the way vnto saluation, (for as of them selues they came not into iudgement) but bicause there is in them a certaine fruit of Faith. For as a tree of it self bringeth forth fruit by the strength of nature, so dothe faith of necessitie bring forth workes. These two points of doctrine do your maisters teach: but both the one and the other is false.

For first of al, the works themselues do deserue either saluatiō or dānation: and the workes shalbe weied by them selues in the balāce of Gods iudgemēt.

- Psal. 61. d.* Otherwise Dauid would neuer haue said, that God wil reder vnto euery mā according to his workes: S Paul would neuer haue said, that God wil rewarde euery man according to the qualitie of his worke good or il: he would neuer haue fraied men with that threat, that we must all stand before the iudgemēt seat of Christ, to make account euery man, of what so euer good or euill he

hath

hath committed in this life: and that euery mans own works shalbe most exactly tryed: to make short (for so much as the testimonies, that may be alleaged, are infinite) the most holy iudge himselfe would neuer haue said, that such as haue done well, shal goe into life e- Mat. 25. d  
uerlasting, and such as haue done euil, into euerlasting fier.

Then that other point is also false, that good workes do necessarilie arise out of Luthers faith. I graunt you, that good workes do folowe my faith, but not yours, M. Haddon, if you beleeeue Luther. How so say you: Bicause faith Ro. 10. 6.  
cometh by hearsay, and hearsay cometh by the worde of Christ. For so much therefore as my faith, that is to say, the faith of the holy Church is grounded vpon the wordes of Christ, and Christ him self saith, that al such as do not repent, shall be condemned: that faith and credit, which I geue to the words of Christ, causeth me to do penance.

Againe

The faith  
of the church  
is fruitful.

## THE SECOND

**Io, 15. b.** Againē when our Lorde saith: you shal be my friendes, if you will do the thinges, that I commaunde you to do: if I beleue the wordes of Christe, and desire earnestly to be receiued into his frindship: I wil endeouour my selfe to the vttermost of my power, to do such thinges as are by him commaunded. And whereas Christ telleth vs before, that not he that calleth him Lorde,

**Mat. 7. c.** shal come to haue the possession of the kingdome of heauen, but he that ordereth al his workes according to the wil of the euerlasting Father: If my faith be not faint, if it be liuelie and strong and inflamed with the desire of that kingdome: I am stirred vp by this faith to directe al my doinges according to the wil of God. See you not now, after what sort this faith conteineth holy workes within her wombe, which are engendred of the fructefulnes of her?

Now let vs see the faith of Luther, whe-

whether it be able to bring foorth any fruite, that is quicke. No without doubt. First of all, bicause al workes as he saith, seeme they neuer so holy, are disteined with synne. And no man maketh any account or estimation of a thing that is vncleane and spotted with synne. Moreouer bicause (as he mainteinerh) the force and strength of inordinate lust is so great, that he thinketh it impossible to withstand it by any meanes in the world. Seing then it is impossible for any man to endeavour him selfe to doe any good workes, vnlesse he doe firste destroie the kingdome of synne: and the kingdome of synne can not possibly be destroyed, if it be true that Luther saith: it remaineth, that no man can possibly do any holy workes. For who is so mad, that he wil bestowe his labour in any thing in vaine and without fruite? Last of al bicause Luther hath determined such a kind of iustice, as needeth not

Luthers  
saith fruite  
les.

X the



## THE SECOND

the healpe of any doing or worke. For if I perswade my selfe, that the iustice of Christ is applied vnto me by faith, no lesse then if it were mine own iustice: and that I haue attained vnto that moſte high and perfecte iustice of Christ, although I lyue and continue in syn: with what desire, care, or hoo-fulnes should I be pricked forewarde to doe any good worke? Forſomuche therefore as Luther both deſpiſeth holy works, and cutteth of al hope of honeſtie and holineſſe: and by this faith, which he hath deuised, taketh away al feare of puniſhment: is it not euident, that he is the ouerthrower of holy workes, the deſtroier of honeſtie and godlines? although he pretended ſome- time to ſtirre vppe his diſciples to the loue of vertue? Wherefore it is mani- feſtly ſeene, that this man of God, who you cōmend aboue the heauens, what with bringing good workes into con- tempt, and what with cauſing men to  
deſ.

despaire of honestie, and by teaching a vaine affiaunce in his newly deuiled iustice, hath quite taken away al desire of doing and working.

Let vs now come to your other cōplait, in the which you say, that I make no end of babling, while I lament the vnensiblenes of Luther, which tyed vp the wil of man with necessitie of destenie. Truly, say you, *I am not wonte to be moued with angre, and yet now I can hold my selfe no longer.* It is my great fault, M. Haddon, that I haue by this my babling as you terme it, caused you (being so gentle and soft by nature as you are) to rage like a mad man. Wel let vs then heare the talke of this felow which is iustly prouoked to plaie the bedlome. What saie you fir?

*This slaunder, say you, is not only blockish and ignorant, but also blasphemous: and suche, as the verie stoones themselues, whiche you speake of, if they could speake, would not iourne it against*

X ij our

## THE SECOND

*our men.* I know, M. Haddon, that that place of Rhetorik is wel applied to this vehement kind of speech, whiche you now vse. And therfore I looke, when you wil bring in those stones, and make them to speake. You say afterwarde.

*But haue you an eye vnto the Scriptures a litle while, and repent you.* Truly I haue a diligent eye vnto them: but I haue not as yet gone to schoole with doctour Walter. Now therefore I am attētiue, if I may, by your good instructions come to a cleerer vnderstāding of the secrets of God. I wuld ye would vtter vnto vs this wonderful stuffe of your high wisedome. Well: what say you then?

Predesti-  
nation.

*God the Father hath chosen vs in Christe, before the foundations of the world were laied, to the ende that we should be holie and unreproueable before him.* How knowe you, M. Walter, I pray you, that you are one of the chosen? Againe which be they, that are holie

ly and vnreprooueable before God? Doubteles they are such, as are void of al synne. But by Luthers doctrine, you can not be without sinne. For he saith, that sin is not al put out, but that a certaine steime of vice breaketh out of it, as it were out of a burning fornace, the which deuoureth and consumeth all thinges round about it: whereupon it foloweth, that no man is vnreprooueable. But if you peraduenture will say, that you speake not of your selfe, but of al mankind: if no man in the worlde be deliuered from al synne (as Luther teacheth) then doth it folowe, that no man can be vnreproueable.

*You heare, say you, the election or choise of God out of the gospell, the which you so muche detest in your talke: and you heare the tyme also. Doe I detest the election of God? With what face dare you saie so? In what place? in what woordes? before whome? who*

X iij is your

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is your witnesse? who was made pri-  
uie? in which of all my writings can  
you conuince me to haue spoken any  
such word? Haue you such a pleasure,  
to babble out, what so euer cometh  
vpon your tongues end?

*Neither is this necessitie of Gods ele-  
ctiō say you, an occasion whie we should  
yeald our selues wholly to felowe the plea-  
sures of the bodie and vncleane vices (as  
it pleaseth you full vngodly to sport) but  
that we should be holie and vnreproue-  
able before God through charitie: as it is  
declared by the expresse woordes of the  
gospell. Although I vnderstande you  
not verie wel, yet I thinke you make  
with me. For I saie the verie same  
thing, that we are not compelled by  
any necessitie to doe euil: for so much  
as God hath geauen vs (as it is mani-  
festly proued by many places of the  
Scripture) a free choise of life and  
death. Wherefore we are free, and  
nottied with any fatal necessitie.*

Free Wil.

But

But here again forgetting what you said before, you alleage certaine places out of S. Paule, by the which as I imagine, you intende to take from vs our freedome of will.

*It is God, saie you, that woorketh in vs both to will and to doe. S. Paul in these woordes hath tyed uppe our wil, and restrained our power. Neither did S. Paul euer thinke it, neither did your maisters vnderstande the meaninge of S. Paule. Muche lesse is it to be thought that you, being farre inferior to them, should be able to attaine to the Apostles meaning in this matter. We graunt this to be true, that our thoughtes and works (such as are wel begon and ended) ought to be referred vnto god, by whose power thei are don. For except God had called me backe, when I rāo into all mischiefe: excepte he had aduertised me by the instincte of his spirit, that I shuld not cast my selfe headlōg into euerlasting thraldome: except*

*Phil. 2. 6.*

X iiii

he had

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he had with his wholesome grace and sure aide so strengthened me, that I might be able to doe the godly worke which he commaunded me to doe: I could neither haue done, neither yet haue thought any good thing: but what so euer studie or diligence I had employed either in deuising, or els in doing any good worke, it had benne all in vaine. Yet this much we say, that we may, not yeald our assent to the inspiration of God, that we may, not regard his liberalitie, that we maie, refuse his gentle offer, yea and leese, thorough synne and wickednesse, the grace, that is alreadie gotten. I, saith our Lorde, doe stand at the doore and knocke. He saith not, I doe breake open the doores, or I doe pul them out of the hinges, or I doe breake in by violence: but only, I doe knocke: that is to say, I doe warne: I doe declare the peril that may ensewe: I do shew the hope of saluation: I doe promise  
healpe:

healpe : and I doe allure men vnto me by benefites. Yet you saie.

*What then? Is there no difference betwene vs and a stone?* He must needes be more vnsensible then a stone, that wold gather after that sort. As though I had gathered this, M. Waulter, out of the sobre meaning of S. Paul, and not out of the drunken dreming of Luther: as it shal appeere hereafter.

*The selfe same S. Paul, saie you, calleth vs the coadiutours of God, and commaundeth vs to woorke our saluation in feare and trembling.* See you not then, by the verie woordes of S. Paul, that the freedome of will is buylded vpon his authoritie, the whiche Luther goeth about to ouerthrowe? For wherefore shoulde he haue saied, that we are the coadiutours of God, if a man coulde doe nothing towards the woorke, that God woorketh in vs? Wherefore should he haue warned vs to woorke our saluation, if it were not



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not in our power to doe it ? But you, euen as in that ioyning of faith that woorketh by charitie, and of woorkes that are vnprofitable, laboured in vaine to glew together by the testimonie of S. Paul such things, as can not possibly be ioyned : in like manner you would bring to passe, by this your singular wit, the which we simple idiores can not reache vnto, that freedome and bondage should be knit together with a most fast knot of frindship, and that by the sayings and meaning of S. Paul. And therfore at one time you alleage certaine places of S. Paul, that maketh for freedome : at an other time you bring other testimonies, the which, as you thinke, confirmeth bondage. But I might proue by this argument alone, that you could neuer so muche as suspecte, what great wisedome was in S. Paul : (as in whose heart rested the spirit of Christ) bicause you labour to prooue, that he spake such thinges, as  
are

are verie contrarie.

And yet you saie, that I doe abhorre the Gospell. In deede I do abhorre Luthers Gospell: and when I name Luther, I meane Melanchthon also, and Bucer and Caluine, and the reste of your Bassaes. For although they be diuers channels of waters, yet came they al out of one fountaine. But whereas you abuse the testimonies of S. Paul to auowch your vngodlines, me thinketh it is a thing not to be borne. You saie afterward.

*You shall know by three wordes of S. Paul. What shall I know? I am able to Philip. 4.6 doe al thinges in Christe, whiche strengtheneth me. And S. Augustine comprised the selfe same sentence in other wordes verie finely: God, saiesth he, crowneeth his owne woorkes in vs. Verie well. But to what purpose bring you these thinges? Be we of them, thinke you, that take parte with Pelagius? Did we euer saie, that we could doe anie*

## THE SECOND

anie good and commendable woorke by our owne strength and diligence? No truly. And yet you in this place, as though you had wonne the field, begynne to vaunt your selfe without all modestie, and saie.

*What is it? See you not how the prouidence of God is fortified by the authoritie of the holy scriptures? And yet you vnderstande, that it is not the mother of synne, but the nurse of all vertue.* O M. Haddon, what agew fitte is this that holdeth you? What damned sprites are these that vex you? What plagues of synne are these that folow you vp and downe? Where haue you heard or read, that I doe denie the prouidence of God, or that I doe affirme, that out of it there shoulde arise anie euil in the worlde? Is this no furie? Is this no madnes? Is this no impudencie? You coulde neuer gather anie suche thing out of my writings: vnlesse you thinke perhaps, that the prouidence of  
God

God can not stand by anie meanes, except the freedome of mans will be taken quite awaie. If you thinke so, you are worse then mad. If you thinke not so, and yet wil charge me falsely with-  
all: you are past al shame. And yet you saie.

*But let vs goe vnto the fountaines  
them selues, out of the which although  
there flowe most sweete honey, yet hath  
your most corrupted mind sucked out of  
them verie pestilent poison* O M. Waul-  
ter, how much it easeth your stomake,  
to vomite out this railing poison, with  
the whiche you are glotted? S. Paul  
writing to the Galathians saied: would  
God they might be cut of that trouble  
you. In like manner doe I praie vnto  
Christ my God, the authour and gea-  
uer of vncorrupted and vpright life:  
that all such as come to hādle the holy  
scriptures, with an vncleane minde,  
with fowle eyes, with an vngodlie in-  
tent, maie at the length repent them  
selues:

*Gala. 5. 6.*

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selues: or els, if they wil not, that they maie be put to most sharpe punishment and horrible death, rather then to bring so much mischiefe into the common weale of the Church.

In this place, (good Christ) what a stirre you keepe? how wonderfully you laie about you? how you vaunt your selfe in wordes like a conquerour? You doe, in your owne conceit, not only beate backe the hornes, as you saied before, but also ouerthrow and discomfite a whole armie. You bring diuers places of S. Paule, which are nothing necessarie, to prooue that there is a prouidence. After that you laie out against me with open mowth, as though I should cōclude that by the prouidence of God, if there were any, a man were bereft of his senses. The which is in deede a verie shameles lie. For you neuer read anie such word in my oratiō. Neither doth it folow, that a man should be like a blocke, of gods  
pro-

prouidence, but of Luthers madnes, by the which, cōtrarie to gods prouidēce, he taketh awaie the freedome of the will. But you peraduenture thinke, that the lewdnes of Luther is so ioyned with this prouidence, that who so euer speketh earnestly against Luthers madnes, he must needs appaire Gods prouidence. But I am of a contrarie mind, that who so euer foloweth the lewdnes of Luther, doth so much as in him lieth, ouerthrow the prouidēce of God.

But what meaneth this? Wherfore declare you not in plaine words, what you wold haue? wherfore vse you such darke parables? wherfore forsake you the name of Babilonical bondage, and take vp violētli the name of prouidēce? Luther saied, that free wil was either a thing of a title only, or els a title without a thing. He saith, that mā doth suffer, and not doe: that he is drawen, and doth not deliberat: that he is onli an instrumēt, the which God turneth, as him listeth:

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listeth: that God driueth him foreward  
and pulleth him backward as his ple-  
sure is: and that he vseth him as a sawe  
or a hatcher: and that man hath no po-  
wer or strength in the worlde to doe  
either good or euyl. But he correcteth  
him selfe afterward in this manner. I  
did il, saith he, to saie that free wil be-  
fore grace is a thing of a title only: I  
ought rather to haue saied simply, that  
free wil is a feined deuise in thinges, or  
els a title without a thing. For so much  
as it is in no māspower once to thinke  
anie good or euil (as it is in the article  
of Wicleffe condemned at Constāce)  
but all thinges doe come to passe of a  
mere and absolute necessitie. He am-  
plifieth these things afterwardes with  
manie wordes, and streineth him selfe  
verie sore, to prooue that the mind is  
alwaies tied, the wil bownd, the po-  
wer to doe taken awaie, yea in suche  
sort, that we can not possibly not only  
doe, but also not so much as thinke  
vpon

vpō anie thing good or bad. These things taught Melanchthon also, and so did Caluine with great copie of woordes, and other, whome I here omit. To be short, the somme of this doctrine was, that ther is no difference betwene vs and anie other woorking toole. These are the things, whiche your Doctours teach openly.

But I saie, (and al good men, al holy men, all men endewed with godlines and vertue auowch my saying to be true) that to teach this your doctrine is a heinousse offence, a desperat boldnes, a detestable owtrage, a coursed acte. For graunt me this doctrine to be true, and I saie, that lawes are taken quite awaie, counsells put to silence, honest craftes ouerthrowen, learning defaced, ciuile gouernement disordered, the determination of right and wrong confounded. I saie moreouer (for it foloweth of necessitie) that man is bereft of his senses, spoiled of counsell,

Y

depri-



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deprived of reason, and brought to that  
passe, that there is no difference be-  
twene him and a stone cast out of the  
hand. I saie also, that the warninges  
of the lawe of God, the commaunde-  
mentes, counsells, exhortations, and  
threatninges, the rewardes assigned  
vnto vertue, and the punishmentes ap-  
pointed for sinne and wickednes, were  
to no purpose enregistred in the holie  
scriptures for the perpetuall remem-  
braunce of them. All these inconue-  
niences folow vpon the doctrine of Lu-  
ther necessarily. There foloweth also  
an other incōuenience, the which, (to  
conceiue it only in heart) is the most  
horrible blasphemie, that euer could  
be spoken or ymagined, that God the  
most holy and vpright iudge, in whom  
no iniquitie can possibly rest, doth vn-  
iustli punish that offence, of the which  
him selfe was (as Luther saierh) a per-  
swader, a forcible mouer, yea the doer.  
For euē as, when a murder is cōmitted,  
not the sward, but he that committed

the murder with the swerd is arained :  
so, right and reason would, that not I,  
which was forced to doe a mischiefe  
by a certaine fatal violence, the which  
I could not withstand, but he that vsed  
suche forcible meanes towards me,  
shuld beare the blame of it. I saie ther-  
fore, that this point, out of the whiche  
soloweth so many and suche horrible  
mōsters, is so heinouſe and wicked, that  
if al the rest were gathered together,  
in cōparison of this, they might seeme  
to be very light. For it doth both ouer-  
throw quite the societie and good or-  
der emongest men : and it doth falsly  
charge that our most holie Lord and  
bowntiful father with the crime of vn-  
iustice and creweltie. This therefore do  
I saie, iudge, define, determine, taught  
by infinite testimonies of the holy scri-  
pture, moued therūto bi the monumēts  
of al holy mē that euer wrote either of  
old time or in our daies, instructed by  
many disputatiōs of the most excellēt

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philosophers, endewed also with vp-right reason, the whiche was wont to be called the lawe of nature and God: that this absolute or fatale necessitie, with the which Luther tied vp all the doinges and thoughtes of men, without exception, can neither stand, nor enter into the mind of anie reasonable man: and that, who so euer deuised it first, was of al men, that euer liued vpon the earth, most vile and wicked.

This is that, which I saied. This I would haue you to confute, and to declare, either that Luther neuer spake it, or els if he did, to prooue that he did it vpon good cōsideration. The which thing of like you doe not (peraduētūre for feare of enuie) and therefore you shifte your selfe into a disputation of Gods election, and you goe about to prooue by the testimonie of S. Paul, that there is a prouidence: as though I had disputed against the prouidence of God, and not against the madnes of Luther.

Luther. Can anie man in the worlde deuise a more fond or foolish order of disputation and cōsutation, then this is?

You are ouer bold and rash to abuse the epistle of S. Paul to the Romaines, being, as you are, altogether ignorant in it. And yet, as though you had with this your leadden sweard killed God haue mercie on his sowle, when you had brought in that example out of S. Paul of the children that were yet vnborne, you ranne vpon me like a mad man. This is the language, that you vsed.

*What saie you good sir? Behold the election once againe, and that according to the pourpose of God. Behold the time of the election which was, before the children were borne. What shall we then saie? that there is anie vniustice in God? S. Paul detesteth that saying, but Ierome Osorius doubteth not to auowch it. O M. Haddon, what madnes is this that vexeth you? What saie you? What*

Y iij

thinke

## THE SECOND

thinke you? What a shamelesse lust of lying is this? When saied I so? in what wordes? Shew the place: reprocue me by witnessles: conuince me by good prooffe. Before you doe this why rage you? Whie take you on like a mad man? Thinke you, that Luther, that mad felowe and filthie varlet, and the heauenlie doctrine of S. Paul are so neere ioyned together, that who so euer is against Luther, must needes be against the most holie ordinaunces of S. Paul also? *Ob (saie you) it is the voice of God to Moyses. I will haue mercie on Whome so euer I haue mercie, and I will haue compassion, on Whom so euer I haue compassion. S. Paul bringeth in vpon this: that it is not in him that will, neither in him that runneth, but in God that taketh mercie.* After this you recite the example of Pharao, but you shew not plainely, to what ende you alleage it. And then, as though you had

Rom. 9. c.

had alreadie declared by the testimonie of S. Paule, that the freedome of mans wil was taken awaie, you conclude after this sort.

*What saith Ierome Osorius? For sooth he saith: if manes reason be tied vppre, if freedome of deliberation be taken awaie, if the Will be fettered with euerlasting bandes: that it must needes folowe, that man is altogether bereft of his iudgement and senses, that there is no difference betwene him and a stone, yea that God is made to be the authour of euill.*

*And that it standeth not with reason, that we shoulde be pounished for that offence, whiche we committed, not with our Will. That is true, M. Haddon, neither haue you confuted my argumentes, neither haue you brought anie testimonie of S. Paule, the which might cause me to chaunge my minde. And yet as though you had determined the matter all at*  
Y iiij      pleasure,

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pleasure, you rowse your selfe, and entering into a more earnest vaine of speech, you bring those woordes, that folowe, out of the innermost corner of your cunning. You saie thus.

*Doe I make anie thing of my selfe? doe I alter or chaunge anie thing? do you not acknowledge your owne wordes, whiche are partly false, and partly wicked? These things while you declaimed them like a fine Rethorician, and vaunted your selfe somewhat insolently with a certaine lustie kind of talke: you make that same glistering glosse of wordes to shine a great deale the brighter by putting in (as your manner is) a taunt or reproch. Your wordes are these.*

*Of like you are that proud reasoner, whose haughtines S. Paul rebuketh very sharply. Will you being an earthen vessel, made of dyrt and claie, demaund of the potter, to what vse he hath so made you? These and the like tauntes you caste out against me, and you warne me*

me withall, that I doe not ouer-throw, thorough this my intolerable pride, such as leane vppon the prouidence of God. These are the thinges, which you vtter in exceeding great choler.

O goodly golden vessel, made by the excellent woorkemanthip of Bucer, I pray you disdaine not the poore earthen vessels: for it is in them, to become golden vessels. In a great house, saith S. Paule, there are vessels, not only of gold and siluer, but also of wood *2. Tim. 2. 6* and earth. And some are made for honour, and some for reproch. If any man therefore will pource him selfe from these, he shalbe a vessel for honour, made holy and meete for our Lord, and prepared to all good worke. You see how S. Paule declareth, that it is a very easie matter for vs, if we wil, to be chaunged out of wooden and earthen vessels, into vessels of gold and siluer. And by what meanes this thing



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thing may be brought to passe, he declareth plainly, when he saith: If he wil purge him selfe from these. From whom? From them doubtlesse, which as he said a litle before, had ouerthrowen the faith of certaine men. But that you may vnderstande, howe ill your maisters haue expounded those testimonies of S. Paule, whiche you haue hudled vppe together, I thinke it necessarie to set out at large the meaning of S. Paule. The which thing, that it may the better be done, it is to be considered, to what ende S. Paule brought al those argumentes.

A learned  
expositiō  
of S. Pauls  
Wordes.

When he had therefore described in moſte ample manner the bleſſfull ſtate of thoſe menne, the whiche deſpiſing the pride of mans nature, and forſaking the ordinaunces of the law, whiche was now diſanulled, betooke them ſelues wholly to the ſeruice of Chriſt: yea and ſo gaue them ſelues thereunto, that they walked, not ac-

cor-

according to the fleshe, but according to the spirite: that is to saie: they put away all filthinesse of vncleane life and naughtinesse, they cutte of the verie stringes of carnalitie, and followed the woorkes of vertue, godlinesse, and iustice with an earnest desire: when he recorded after this sort in his mind the graces and gyftes, with the which the mindes of those menne were adourned and bewrified, that were receiued into the protection of Christ, and ordered by the guydaunce of the holy ghost: he reioysed incredibly. But the greater this ioye was, the more grieuouſly did he sorow at the remembraunce of the most bitter chaunce and fall of his owne countrie menne, whiche had for their crewel treacherie and horrible blindnes of heart lost such great richesſe. But for so much as many men tooke occasion by this fall of the Iewes, to appaire the estimatiō of Gods truth and faithfulness: saying,  
that

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that it could not stand with the constancie of Gods truth, that that nation, which was fostered in great expectation of libertie and felicitie, whiche was called by Gods owne promises to the hope of the heauenly and euerlasting kingdome, should be tourned out of al good thinges, and left in most horrible darkenesse: and that it might be gathered by this, that either the light was not yet brought into the worlde by Christ, or that God was not sure of his promise: for so much therefore as certaine rash and vndiscrete felowes vsing these argumentes went abowte therby most vnworthely and slaunderously to disteine the glorie of God: S. Paule disputeth earnestly for the glory of God, and proueth by very good and grounded reasons, that God was sure of his worde, and that he had performed al suche thinges, as were promised, abundantly. And so much doth he signifie, when he saith. Not, that  
the

the worde of God is fallen. Nowe the proufe of this defence he taketh out of fower places.

*Rom. 9. 6.*

The first place is the description of a true Israelite, to th'intent that, when it was vnderstoode, that the Gentiles gathered together vnto Christe were nombred in the stocke of Israel, it might appeare, that God had in their saluation and honour exceedingly well fulfilled his promises.

The second place was that, in the which he declared, that manie, euen of them that came of the very stocke of Israel, were saued. For in that great shipwracke, certaine remnantes escaped through faith, out of that most crewell tempest and waues of infidelitie.

In the third place he teacheth, that ther was no stay in god, but that al the Iewes might haue come to saluation. For God had his treasures and richesse alwaies in readines to bestowe them,  
and

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and allured them with often calling vpon them to repaire towards him, and to receiue the fruite of his bountifulnes : but they being through the affaūce of their law brought into a pride, and through pride into verie madnes, with harts vnkind and obstinately bent to liue in synne, refused the liberalitie and gentle calling of God.

*Rom. 11. 6.*

Last of all he foretelleth, that the time shal come, when the ful multitude of the gētiles are come in, that al Israel shalbe saued. And with these argumentes, (whiche he handleth at large) the Apostle declareth very plainly, howe fast and sure God hath alwaies continued in his faithful promise. Of the which we wil touch those pointes onely, that apperteine to this present disputation.

First therfore he ioyneth the description of a true Israelite with the declaration of equitie and iustice: and declareth, that the nobilitie of a true Israelite  
confi-

consisteth, not in the communitie of  
bloud, but in the propagation of faith:  
and that he is the true sonne of Abra-  
hā, that is borne according to the pro-  
mise of God, the whiche faith behol-  
deth: and not he that is borne accor-  
ding to the flesh, in the which earthie  
men do glorie. Not they, saith S. Paule,  
that are the sonnes of the flesh, but thei  
that are the sonnes of promise, are coun-  
ted in the seede. And this is a word of  
promise: I wil come about this tyme,  
and Sara shal haue a sonne.

*Rom. 9.c.*

*Gen. 18.b.*

But lest it might be said, that Isaac  
was therfore preferred before Ismael,  
bicause he was begotten of a free mo-  
ther, he bringeth in like manner an  
other example of twoo twinnes.  
For Iacob and Esau were begotten  
and borne both of one father, of one  
Mother, and in one hower: and  
yet was Iacob placed in the inheri-  
taunce of his Father, out of the  
whiche Esau was caste by the pro-  
uidence

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uidence of God. If you will respect the condition of their birth, it seemeth, that Esau should haue benne preferred, bicause he came first into the worlde. If you consider the merites of woorkes, it was determined in Gods secret counsel, before thei were borne, and before they had done anie thing good or euyl, that Iacob should haue the preeminence. S. Paule setting this similitude before our eyes, confirmeth, that this nobilitie of Israel is to be ascribed, neither to any stocke of man, neither to auncetrie, neither to any merite going before: but to the grace of God, the whiche according to election goeth before al merites of vertue and godlinesse. For Iacob represented such, as stay them selues vpon faith, and looke for the grace and mercie of God: but Esau resembled them, the which haue no respect vnto the grace of God, but are puffed vppe with an assaunce, whiche they haue

in mannes woorkes.

This lesson therefore we gather out of this place of S. Paule: that it is not the stocke or Petegree of manne, nor woorkes, nor the Lawe, that maketh true Israelites, but the election, calling, and grace of God.

A sounde  
and Catho  
like con-  
clusion.

But let vs see. This so notable a mercie of God, which is bestowed vpon vs without any desert or merit of ours, is it geauen without any choise? No truly. For then were there chaunce and vnaduisednes in the iudgement of God, the whiche no man can once thinke without great offence. S. Paule therefore to put awaye that damnable opinion, saith. To the end that the de-

Rom. 9. 6.

termination of God might stand according to election: it was saied not by workes, but by the caller, that the elder should serue the yonger.

This woorde Election, importeth Election.

some oddes or difference wisely considered with counsel: and it declareth

Z that



## THE SECOND

that there was somewhat in the thing chosen, which was not in the thing refused. For the purpose of God is a preuented iudgement, in the which God according to election and foreknowledge of thinges, which he seeth shall come to passe, some he apointeth mercifully vnto glorie, and other he adiudgeth to euerlasting damnatiō. Neither is the wisedome of God, which comprehendeth in his endlesse knowlege al thinges, that hath ben, that are nowe, or shalbe hereafter, cōpelled to looke for the euent of thinges, when he wil geue iudgement.

What was that then, whiche God chose before? was it any worke, or merite that was woorthy of the grace of God? No truely. For, if it were so, grace were no grace. It is certaine, that through the mere mercy of God al onely, we were diliuered frō the darkenes of syn, and set in the possession of iustice. For he was nothing in our debt.

But

But rather for the hatred towards the law of God engrafted in the nature of the body (which was after synne made subiect vnto the tyrannie of inordinate lust) we were al most worthy of euerlasting punishment.

Moreouer although that most high and euerlasting bountie woulde, as S. Paul saith, that al men should be sauēd: *1. Tim. 2. 4* yet the order of iustice wil not beare, that such as vnkindly refuse the benefites of God, and continue in that wickednes to the end, shuld receiue them. They therfore are most iustly excluded from the benefites of God, whiche are at defiance with the bounty of God, and will not in any wise be receiued into his fauour. Now wheras God knew before the beginninge of the worlde, that it should come thus to passe, of his mercie he chose them, which he sawe woulde not at the ende stubborne-ly refuse his so greate benefites.

And thus it cometh to passe, that some

Z ij      are

## THE SECOND

are by his iust iudgemente refused, and  
other are by his great mercie called to  
enjoye his euerlasting riches.

But you wil saie peraduenture: what  
Sh<sup>d</sup>? Saie you that any merite of man  
goeth before the grace of God? No  
forsooth. For the very yelding of my  
minde, by the which I geue my assent  
vnto the warninges and inspirations of  
God, and do not refuse his benefites, is  
to be referred to the grace and mercie  
of him, that called me, and bowed my  
mind: and in the receiuing of my salua-  
tion and dignitie there is no merite of  
mine. For if I be a poore needie man,  
and oppressed with extreme necessity,  
What merite is mine, if I be susteined,  
and enriched by the liberalitie of some  
bountifull Prince, which ought me no-  
thing? What doth the Physition owe  
me, the which of his own accord hath  
healed my wounds, bicause I haue suf-  
fered my selfe to be healed of him?  
Againe what is he in my debt, whiche  
seeing

*similitudo.*

*similitudo.*

*f*

seeing me beset on euerie syde with  
theeues, deliuered me from present  
death? Nothing at al. So therefore it  
cometh to passe, that such as be recei-  
ued into the fauour and grace of God,  
are saued by mercy: and such as be ex-  
cluded from the grace of God, are re-  
pelled by his most iust iudgement.

*Rom. 9. 6.*

It foloweth in the text of S. Paule.  
What shall we then saie? Is there any  
vnrighteousnes in God? God forbid.  
For he saith vnto Moyses. I wil haue  
mercie on whom I haue mercie: and I  
wil haue compassion on whom I haue  
compassion. S. Paule giveth a reason,  
wherfore no man can possibly laie any  
vniustice to God. For the defence of  
Gods iustice standeth altogether in his  
mercie. For that often repetition of  
Gods mercie signifieth his great con-  
stancie in geauing mercie. And the mer-  
cy of God quieteth his iustice of al stain-  
der. As though oure Lorde him selfe  
should saie: I am by nature so merciful;  
Zonijij how that

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that I pleasure in no thing more, then  
in pardoning of syns, and in keeping a  
most cōstant and euerlasting mercie to  
mainteine them, whome I haue recei-  
ued into my protection. It may there-  
fore be sene very wel, when I do pun-  
nish syn, that such as are cōdemned, do  
perish through their owne default. For  
if thei would come to good order, thei  
might obtēin the like mercy and be sa-  
ued. But forsomuch as of their own ac-  
cord, thei esteemed more darkenes then  
light, bondage then freedom, pouertie  
then riches, death then life: it was iust,  
that they shoulde be throwen downe  
headlōg into bitter paine and torment.  
And so by this place which S. Paul al-  
legeth after a heuēli sort, of the assured  
nes of Gods mercie, we see his iustice  
vtterly discharged of al slander. Where-  
fore in the calamity of the Iews no mā  
could finde any lacke of truth in God,  
but he might well blame the vnfaith-  
fulnes and wicked stubbornes of them,  
that would not be saued by the mercie

of God. Then to cōfirme this saying, ad  
to teach vs that al hope of saluatiō is to  
be referred to the merci of God, which  
is so freely offred to al mē: he saith. It is *Rom, 9. f.*  
not therfore in hī that willeth, neither  
in him that rūneth, but in God that taketh  
mercy. Wil importeth a desire:  
rūning signifieth an earnest endeouour  
to honestie: the which both are com-  
prehēded in the benefit of God. For it  
is he the which with often calling vpō  
me causeth me to wil: it is he also, the  
which geueth a cheeresulnes vnto my  
wil. Howbeit, neither my desire, ney-  
ther my cherfulnes, shal haue ani good  
successe, vnlesse he of his mercie shall  
bring both my wil and my earnest en-  
deuour to perfection. For our strength  
is appaired, our hopes vanish al to no-  
thing, so often as the mercie of God  
for our vnkindnes of heart, departeth  
from vs. When I therefore doe any  
good woorke, it is to be ascribed nei-  
ther to mans will as being naturallie

inclined to honesty, neither to my earnest endeavour: but only to the mercy of God. But that it might appeare yet more plainly, that the Iewes fell not through the vniustice of God, as vngodlie men reported, but through their owne vnfaithfulnesse and wilfull sinne, he reherfeth the like example of naughtines and lacke of beleefe. For God vsed the like meanes in callinge Pharao to honestie, and fraying him from vnbeleefe. But he of a pride and stubbornes, which was in him, would abuse the mercie of God, to his farre greater punishmente and damnation. Vppon this, S. Paule bringeth in these wordes. For the Scripture saith vnto Pharao: for this haue I stirred thee vp, that I maie shewe my power in thee, and that my name may be declared in al the earth. In the which place, two thinges are to be noted.

Exod. 9. d.

The first is, that Pharao was not driuen to suche outrage by any violence

or

on force of Gods behalfe, as S. Paule  
declareth him self anon after. The other  
point is, that the wickednes of Pharao  
was therefore tolerated a great while of  
God, the most wise and bountifull Lord  
of all things, (which out of euil thinges  
draweth euermore some good, and  
bringeth thinges disordered into good  
order) that by shewing one example of  
seueritie, he might kepe a great many  
men in wel doing. And this may ap-  
peare much better, if we will trie the  
wordes at the Hebrew fountaine, for  
this sentence might very well be tran-  
slated after this sorte. For this cause  
haue I suffred thee to stand, that I may  
shewe my power to thee, and that my  
name may be honoured in al the earth.  
He sayeth not, I haue taken away thy  
wittes from thee, and I haue caused  
thee to be madde, that thou shouldest  
continually rebell against mee: but, I  
haue suffred thee a greate while, and  
haue differred thy due punnishment,  
that



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that I mighte reserue it to the greater setting out of my glorie, and the saluation of many men.

He called Pharao both to faith and also to honestie . But for so much as Pharao regarded not the goodnesse of God , but ranne on like a wild colt vpon an vnbridled affection: it stode verie wel , not onely with Goddes iustice , but also with his mercie , that many menne should by the most iust example of Pharao be put in feare, and so brought to good ordre . For as the *simile here* ~~gouernours~~ of common weales doe vse to cut of with constant seueritie, such as they can not redresse by lighter punishments, to the ende that they may by the terrour of that punishment keepe the rest of the citizins in ordre: euen so doth that most high gouernour shew sometimes an exaple of seueritie vpon them, that wil not be resourmed, but wil vpō sinne wickedly comitted heape a shamelesse defence: that

that he maie by the deathe of those lewd persons benefite the whole, and that he may, in punishing the wicked, shew many points of his high mercie.

What is the cause then, that we see that word so often repeted: And God hardened the heart of Pharao. To hardē is, to geue vnto wicked men, which do abuse good thigs vnto malice, some matter with the which they may encrease their syn and stubbornes. Knowest thou not, saith S. Paule, that the goodnes of God mooueth the to penance? But thou, according to thy hardnes and vnrepentaunt hart, doest treasure vp to thy self displeasure. In like maner therefore God caused not that hardnes in Pharao: but Pharao refused the mercie of God, and of a certaine hardnes and frowardnes, that was rooted in him, abused the clemency of God vnto greater syn, and so encreased the heape of Gods wrathe towards him euery day more and more.

Now

Now marke how wonderfully the Apostle linketh together his argumēt. First of al he declareth, that to be a true Israelite cometh not of mans nature, but of the grace of God. Then he confirmeth the iustice of God, by the greatness of his grace, which is offred freely to al men, that wil vse it. For by that mercie it is euidently seene, that such as perished, perished through their owne default: and this doth he declare more plainly by the example of Pharaoh, the which refused the mercie of God, and was willingly forlorne: that it might be gathered by this, that the Iewes fell in like manner through their owne wilful blindnes, because their hearte was too obstinately bent and hardened in wickednes: and that their damnation is not to be imputed vnto God, which called them to saluation, but vnto their owne naughtines and stubbornnes, which refused the goodnes of God. Vpon this the Apostle bringeth

WOL

in

in these wordes. Wherefore he taketh *Rom. 9, 6.*  
 mercie on whome he wil, and hardeneth whom he wil. The which is not  
 so to be taken, as though the thing that  
 God willeth, he willeth it without  
 great good reason. For the wil of his  
 euerlasting wisedome can not be sun-  
 dered from vnderstanding, reason, and  
 aduisement. And his will is to rewarde  
 the faith of, the chosen, not as of dew-  
 tie, but according to grace. His wil  
 is also to withdraw his helpe and aide,  
 from such, as refuse it, and to suffer them  
 to be of a corrupt iudgement. Hereup-  
 pon S. Paule sayeth: Then you wil say  
 vnto me: Wherefore doth he yet com- *Ibidem.*  
 plaine? For who shal withstand his wil?  
 In these wordes S. Paule bringeth in  
 the person of a presumptuous man, the  
 which iudged rashly of the counsel of  
 God, and vnderstandeth this sentence  
 of the scripture naughtily: and he ma-  
 keth him to speake very vngodly, that  
 he may the better stop the mowth of

VNT

## THE SECOND

vn godlines it selfe. If this be true, saith euery wicked person, that God taketh mercy on whom he wil, and who him listeth, he refuseth him, and hardneth his hart, and no man can resist his wil: then he that synneth, sinneth of necessity. If he do syn of necessity, wherefore doth God so often cōplaine of the hardenes and crueltie of wicked men?

This synful and presumptuous talke S. Paule cōfuteh two waies. First of al, he sheweth, that it is a presumptuous act, to iudge of the iugemēt of god. For euen for this cause only, that a thing is don bi god, although we vnderstād not the reason of it, yet must we assuredly thinke, that it was done, not without great reason. Then he declareth the counsel of God, by the which he hardneth, that is to saie, beareth long time with the wicked, and at the length leaueth them destitute of his aide and healpe, that he may suffer them to perish to the profite of manie. O man, saith the Apostle, who art thou, that

*Rom. 9.d.*

reasonest with God? Doth the thing,  
which is fourmed, saie vnto him that  
fourmed it, why hast thou made me so?  
May not the potter make of one lump  
of claie one vessel to honour, and an o-  
ther to dishonour? In which place you  
may cōsidre by the name of a pot, that  
it is not a worke which is determined  
without reason, but such a thinge, as is  
done by workemāship. Wherin he ge-  
ueth you to vnderstand this much. If  
the potter, as a potter, doth what so e-  
uer he doth, by art: much more doth  
God al things, by art, reson, and counsel.  
S. Paul therefore speaketh after this sort.  
O man wilt thou not loke circūspectly  
about thee? wilt thou not acknowlege  
the frailtie of thy nature? wilt thou not  
cōsidre the wisdom and power of god?  
Wilt thou not dreade his Maiestie? If  
there were any sense in earthen ves-  
sels: surely suche vessels were not to  
be borne withall, as would dispute  
with the potter, whiche made them,  
of

## THE SECOND

of the workmanship wherewith they were made. Much lesse is the presumptuousnes of a seelie man to be borne, the which improueth the iudgemente of that most excellent governour, and in an endlesse and incomprehensible wisdom findeth lacke of cunning and skill. Art thou at that point in deede? The thing, the cause and reason wherof thou art not able to attein vnto by wit, wilt thou by and by stand vnto it, that it is void of al reason? The potter maketh by arte one vessel for honour, an other for dishonour: and loke what is made by arte, no man may wel finde fault withal. And wilt thou saie, that the thing, which is made of that most high and perfecte wisdom, (in the which neither rashnesse, neither vniustice may rest) is made vndiscretely and vniustly? By these wordes S. Paul intendeth only to put vs to vnderstand, that it is a very grieuous offence, to trie the iudgements of God by the balance

lance of mans reason, and to doubt of his iustice. He doth therefore onely keepe downe vnreasonable presumptuousnes, and fraieth rash and prowde menne, by denouncing vnto them the iudgement of god.

After that he declareth, what is to be holden as touching this question. These are his words. If so be, that God *Rom. 9. 22.* willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power knowen, hath suffered the vessels of wrath with much patience, which were shapd to destructiō, that he might shew the riches of his glory towards the vessels of mercie, the which he hath prepared to glorie. It is an vnperfecte speach, the whiche manner of speaking S. Paule vscth oftē tymes. There lacketh either this, or some other thing like to this. And yet wilt thou reprooue the wise and iust counsel of god?

Now in these wordes, first of al it is to be noted, that God framed not the

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## THE SECOND

vessels of wrath. Truth it is, that God made nature vnto the vessels, but not synne, not vngodlines, not the rest of vices, which deserueth to be punished most sharply by the seueritie of Gods iudgement, (whiche the holie Scripture calleth wrath). For it cometh to passe by the wil of euery wicked man, that he is made the vessel of wrath, which would not be made the vessel of mercie. The whiche thing S. Paule meanig to set forth more plainly, saith: He suffered. And being not satisfied with that word he saith moreouer: He suffered in much patience the vessels of wrath. What is this? What grieve is that so great? What torment is that so cruel, that, to the bearing of it, God needed patience, yea and that no meane, but exceeding great patience? Doubtles it is that, which is (if God were subiect to any grieve) of all grieues, that may be deuised, the greatest: to wit, it is vicious liuing, wickednes, and an obsti-  
nate

nare wil to cōtinue in synne. For there is nothing els, that disagreeth with his vertue, goodnes, and wisdom: there is nothing els, that is directly against his most holy ordinances and lawes: to be shorte, there is nothing elles, that God doth moſte extremely hate and detest. So that, it is no wonder, if a verie great patience were (to speake of God as of a man) needefull, to beare such a bitter torment. God therefore caused not this hardnesse of heart in Pharao, but he suffred with a certaine great patience the wilfull stubbornes of that most wicked man, whiche grieved his heart. The which thing to expresse the beter, S. Paule saith: Vessels made to destruction. He saith not: The vessels which God him selfe hath made to destruction: as he saith a litle after of the vessels of mercie, the whiche God him selfe hath prepared to glorie: that you may vnderstande, that Godlie menne are

*nota*

## THE SECOND

*Esaie 50. d*

*Handwritten flourish*

*Handwritten flourish*

*Rom. 9. c.*

appointed vnto glorie by the wil and mercie of God, and that wicked men are thrust out violently into euerlasting tormentes, through euerie mans owne wilful synne: as Esaie saith. Goe into the fier, whiche you haue kendled for your owne selues. But to what ende, I praie you, did that most high Lord suffer so long time and with suche great patience the vessels of reproch? To shewe, saith the Apostle, his wrath: that is to say, to shewe the seueritie of his most holie iudgement, and the power of his maiestie. Againe, I aske you: to what pourpose was it, to desire to declare that vnto menne? To shewe, saith he, the riches of his glorie towards the vessels of mercie, the which he hath prepared to glorie. For he doth al thinges for the chosens sake.

Now it remaineth, that we doe consider, what fruct doe the chosen take by setting the iudgemente of god, before

fore their eyes? Very great without doubt. For first of al, while the chosen see the wicked punished according to their desertes, it putteth a certaine feare of Gods iustice into their hartes, whiche causeth them to abstaine from euil doinges. For the foundation of true wisdom is laied vpon the feare of God. Moreover the vertue of the good being assaulted both by the priuy awaites, as also by the forcible attēptes of wicked personnes shineth a great deale the brighter. For vertue maketh a great shew of her selfe, when it is neither corrupted by the example of vicious menne, neither tourned away from the exercise of godlines through naughtie counsell, neither drawen from the loue of most holie Religion by threatninges or tormentes. Againe when they consider by the fall of the wicked, out of howe great thraldome they are delyuered by the mercie of God, they embrace their parent and

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*nota*

*PROV. I. 4.*

*nota*

reddeemer with a much more feruent  
desire and earnest loue. Last of al the  
very holines it selfe of the euerlasting  
lawe, and the ordre of Gods iustice  
being let before the eyes and sight of  
good menne, bringeth them to a cleer  
vnderstanding of God, and causeth  
the mercy of God vsed towards holy  
men to be the better knowen: and so  
increaseth their ioye. To the intēt ther  
fore that the good might take so great  
and so manifold fruiets by the dānation  
of the wicked: god would not vse any  
such violence towards the wicked,  
that they should cōmit sinne as being  
driven vnto it of necessitie: but he suf  
fred moste patiently their wilful fro  
wardnes and stubborne obstinacy, that  
he might in the end tourne altogether  
to the glory of his chosen.

If you haue not vtterly lost al sense  
of a sobre man, you may see plainly,  
that free wil is not by the saying of S.  
Paule taken away, but rather verie  
surely

surely established. These things the Apostle persecuteth afterwarde more at large, and declareth at the length, howe the Iewes fell from God thorough their pride, arrogancie, vnfaithfulnesse, and obstinacie. For they were so puffed vp with a vaine assurance of a shadowed iustice, which stood vpon the woorkes of the lawe, that they despised very stubbornly and wickedlye the true iustice, which consisteth in cleannes of life, in holinesse, in charitie, in peace, in ioye, and in other the like furniture of heavenly vertues which by the holie ghost are planted in the mindes of godly men.

Now for so much as this is the saying and meaning of S. Paul, what rage was that, that came into that mad mans brain, the which wēt about by the authority of S. Paul to perswade such an opinion, as both ouerthrew good order amongest men, and falsly charged God

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with

## THE SECOND

with vniustice? For what right is it, that wicked men should be punished for a wicked acte, whiche they comitted, not willingly, but being violently driuen vnto it by an euerlasting and external power.

*Luther say you, set out a Booke, in the whiche he spake earnestly against the burly burlies in Germanie. What if some one of them, whom he rebuked, should haue said vnto him euē then: ô Luther, why dost thou blame vs innocēt men? whie keepest thou such a stirre? whie plaieest thou the madde man? we haue learned of the, that it is not in vs to do any thing good or euil: in so much that we are not free, so much as to thinke such thinges, as we would. For God worketh al things in vs, as you say: and we are only certaine working tooles, the which god thrusteth out with his hand, whether so euer him listeth, and wréchet vs foreward and backward at his pleasure. These tourmoiles therefore*

fore adſeditiō, for the which you blame vs, God al only, as you teach, hath ſtirred vppe. For ſo much as therfore, that moſt mighty Lord, whoſe power can not be hindered by any ſtrēgth of man, is the mouer, the deuiler, yea the doer of this ſtirre, whie blame you vs for it? Whie reuile you vs? Whie labour you vainly to withdraw vs from this ſedition? If anie man, I ſaie, of that multitude, whiche Luther tooke vp with ſuche ſharpe woordes, had ſaied thus much vnto him: I praie you, what anſwere woulde he haue made? With what honeſt ſhiſte woulde he bothe maintaine his doctrine, and defend the iuſtice of God?

But to let Luther paſſe: what ſaie you ſir Luthers aduocate, which ſaie, that he was ſent from God: how maie you (if you approoue his doctrine and rules) puniſh malefactours? If there be no freedome, if mans will be tied, if al power be taken awaie, if the verie thoughtes



## THE SECOND

thoughtes be fettered, if al things, both  
greatest, and least, and middlemost, be  
bownd with an euerlast necessitie, if  
God be the authour and doer of all  
things both good and euill: vndoubtedly  
those seelie wretches, which you (as  
I take it) commaunde to be had awaie  
to execution, haue done nothing. By  
what right doe you punish the inno-  
cent men? What reason haue you to  
put guiltlesse persones to death? who  
made this lawe, that the doers of fel-  
lony should be acquitted, and the tooles  
or instrumentes of fellows condemned?  
with what kind of speech, are you able  
(if you minde to maintaine this do-  
ctrine) to rid that most high Iudge of  
the infamie of vniustice. Is this no vil-  
lanie? Is this no madnes? Is this no pre-  
sumptuous part of a rash and an vnbrid-  
led mind? And yet wheras Luther doth  
at one time both distourbe the order  
of mans life, and lay vnto gods charg,  
(like a most shameles varlet) the crime  
of

of vniustice: he is not afraied to saie,  
that he standeth in defence of Gods  
glorie, whiche he goeth about to de-  
face and ouerthrow.

You saie, that I doe condemne the  
first fownders of this doctrine, as no  
lesse wicked and vngodlie, then if they  
were like vnto Protagoras or Diago-  
ras. I am not so blunt, that I woulde  
saie so. I thinke them not onlie com-  
parable with Diagoras in wickednes,  
but also incōparably worse then euer  
he was. For I take it to be more tole-  
rable, to thinke that there is no God,  
then to thinke that God is a malefa-  
ctour and vniust.

Protag.  
and Diag.  
thought  
there vvas  
no God.

Now as towching prouidence (that  
I maie once cōclude this matter) I saie  
no more but this. If the prouidence of  
God be a counsell determined by the  
foreknowledge of thinges, if the word  
of election, if the purpose of God, that  
is to saie, the preuēted iudgement and  
euerlasting decree do import a reason  
and

Prouidēce

## THE SECOND

Protestants  
denie  
Gods pro-  
vidence.

and meaning : then doth he confesse the prouidence of God, which beleeueth, that there was nothing apointed and ordeined of God from before the begynning of the worlde without verie great counsell, iustice and reason. And contrarie wise, thei that saie, that God hath sorted out of the common lumpe of mankind such as he woulde directe vnto euerlasting glorie, and such as he would apoint vnto euerlasting dānation, vpon none other reason or cōsideration, but bicause him listeth so to doe: how so euer they maintaine the prouidence of God in word, they denie it in deede. For he that taketh awaie the meaning and reason, taketh awaie prouidence.

But will you see, how like a babler you prosecute the rest of your matters? Your woordes are these. *At the length when you haue scholded your fill, you begynne to conclude somewhat, making a totall somme of all suche thinges, as you*  
com-

complainte haue ben ouerthrowen by our  
men: and you aske what thing hath suc-  
ceeded in their roome. O M. Haddon I  
haue iust cause to complaine. For I see  
none other thing set vp in the steede  
of them, but only that woorshipfull  
acte of yours, in the which you glorie  
so muche, and therefore you repete it  
verie often. For the superstitious ydlenes  
of lurking hypocrites, saie you, we haue  
set vp the necessarie busines of Christian  
profession: for wandering pleasures, most  
honourable marriage: for the dreames of  
mens inuentions, the holie Scriptures of  
God the Father, and of our Lorde Iesus  
Christ. The wast and hauoke of holie  
thinges I see: but what you haue re-  
stored in their roome I see nothing, as  
I told you before, except it be, for most  
godlie quietnes, most wicked stirring:  
for the loue of chaste life, filthie and  
incesteouse ribaudrie: for the puritie  
of most holie doctrine, most pestilent  
errours of desperate felowes.

Would

## THE SECOND

Would God, saie you, ye had here broken of your most reprochful epistle: Of like you are not ashamed of your tauntes, which you haue gathered together without anie cause in the world. I assure you, I am wearie of the rehearsal of them. To what purpose is it, to repeate so often, without argumēt, without comely grace, without any likely hood of truth, those your so shameles and vnreasonable errors, in the eares of the Quenes maiestie, yea in the eares of al Christendome? How stādeth this geare together, M. Haddon? Saied you not before, that I was an excellent framer of wordes and sentences? Confessed you not, that you liked wel my kind of vtteraunce? Haue you not called me often times in this your booke Cicero his scholer? Wherfore then saie you now, that my epistle was written without anie argument (as for the comelie and pleasaunt grace I wil saie nothing) Bylike, when you commended mine eloquence, you spake  
not

not in earnest and as you thought.  
 You dailed with me, Sir pleasaunce,  
 you dailed: and the ladie Venus, in the  
 honour of whome you haue prophane-  
 ned and vnhalowed the tēples of cha-  
 stitie, hath besprinkled you with her  
 comelie and pleasaunt graces. How-  
 beit I thinke this very much to be mis-  
 liked in this your pleasauntnes, that it  
 can not be well perceiued, when you  
 speake in earnest, and when you sport.  
 But peraduenture you thinke it a cō-  
 mendation of a sharpe witte, to speake  
 darkly, and therefore you vse it in dis-  
 putation also. But howe often you  
 caste me in the teeth with the name  
 of Cicero? As though I shoulde be  
 ashamed of hym, or els thought my  
 selfe hable to expresse in my wri-  
 tinges anie parte of his witte, vehe-  
 mencie, and copie: as though I had  
 studied Cicero only, and had not spent  
 verie much time in other the hi-  
 ghest pointes of learning. But you like  
 a foxie

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a foxie lawier and wilie proctour, haue made a verie good prouiso, that no man maie well laie the name of Cicero to your charge. For you speake nothing in cleane speach, nothing plainly, nothing distinctly, nothing orderly, nothing grauely, nothing eloquently. What so euer liketh you, you put it in: and then you prooue it, not by argument and reason, but by railing and shameles talke. At the length as though you had wonne the field, you pricke me with the bristles of your reprothefull tongue, you presse me with a nombre of apish questions, you triumph like a noddie before the victorie. Whervpon you saie thus?

*What saie you good sir? And then? S. Paul detesteth it: Ierome Osorius is not afraied to auouch it. As though I affirmed that thing, whiche you there denied, or els meaned to dispute with S. Paul, and not with Luther. And again. What saiesth, Ierome Osorius? And again.*

*Doe*

*Doe I make arie thing? Doe I change  
 arie thing?* And with these woordes  
 for sooth, you would haue seemed to  
 be a vehement speaker. I care not this of  
 me, Mr. Haddon, if you can (because  
 your euyl lucke was to channce vpon  
 such a maister, which brought you vp  
 so foolishly and so ignorantly) that these  
 questions are then both grane and ve-  
 hement in deede, when the aduersarie  
 is couinced by some firme and sure ar-  
 gument. For otherwise they are verie  
 foolish and to be laughed at: for so much  
 as they haue no vehemencie or strength  
 in the worlde, but only a declaration of  
 a certaine pitifull pang or heat of the  
 stomake. So God heale me, as I could  
 not sometime (although your talke  
 seemed vnto me verie much to be pi-  
 tied) hold my selfe fro laughing. And so  
 I am fully discharged of my promise,  
 whiche I made you, that, in case you  
 could drine me either by grownded  
 reasons, or els by true exāples to geaue

BB

my



my assent vnto you, I would not refuse it. For neither haue you brought anie argument, neither alleaged any example, that was to the purpose: and yet, as though you had borne your self like a pretie man, you rage and reuel in wordes, and keepe a meruelous pitifull and frantique stirre. I can not deuise, what wicked sprite it should be, that put you in mind to take this charge of writing vpon you. Yet I meane not, but that you maie doe, as you thinke good: neither wil I limite you in suche sorte, that you maie not in writing shew your selfe to be as foolish, as you list, And to put you in good comfort, take this of my worde, that no man, which is of anie iudgement, wil find fault with you, for being to much a Ciceronian.

THE

# THE THIRD

## BOOKE.



It foloweth now, that we make answere vn-  
to your other com-  
plaint, in the whiche  
you seme to take that  
part of myne epistle  
very grieuoussly, wherein I reckened vp  
the impudencie, the robberies, poy-  
soninges, conspiracies and other de-  
testable vices, so manie, that my mai-  
ster Cicero, as you saie, neuer hea-  
ped vp moe against Verres, with the  
whiche I shoulde saie, that England  
was atteinted. Wherin you shew ve-  
rie plainly, that you read those my let-  
ters with litle heede. For it was ne-  
uer my meaning, to condemne all  
Englande of suche vices. For I  
knowe, there are in that Iland ve-  
rie manie godlie and religious men,

BB ij

whiche

### THE THIRD

which neuer fel from the holy church, but would gladly yeald their liues for the glorie of Christ, if neede so required. Yea manie haue already by their most honourable death set out their faith exceedingly: manie haue abiden imprisonment, reprochful woordes, with diuers other incōmodities: manie being loth to see suche a decaie of religion, wander from place to place of their owne accord like banished men and outcastes, and haue liefer to keepe a continual combat with miserie and needines, then to beholde with their eies so heauy a sight. The which thing verie manie other men would do also, if you would suffer them. Moreouer and this I heare that ther are certaine places within that Ilād, vnto the which the infectiō of this morreine is not yet come: and it is reported that there are manie noble men also, which are vn-  
touched. A friend of myne, an honest and credible person, which hath some  
doinges

doinges in England, tolde me this for certaine, that there are moe in the realme, that continue in their faith stil, then there are of such as haue forsaken it: howbeit they dare not professe it openly, for feare of them, that are in authoritie. For it is lawful for them, so long as they are not required to professe their faith openly, to keepe it to them selues, vntill such time, as, they must either maintaine their religiō by suffering death, (if they be put vnto it) or els reserue them selues to a better worlde, to the ende that all good men decaie not at once. And as for them, whose heartes are not blinded with pride, which are caried awaie, not so much of malice and naughtines, as of simplicity of mind (of the which there are verie manie) maie verie easily be brought home againe. Wherefore I saied not, that al the Iland was geuen to suche vices, neither haue I laied downe al hope of the recouerie of the

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whole : no , I trust to see within these few daies such an alteration of things, that the verie remembrance of this most pestilent plague shalbe vtterlie abolished.

Furthermore I meant not in those my letters ( as I tolde you before ) to make anie enditement or accusation, but to aduertise your Prince , that she should not suffer her self to be infected with the pestilent sectes of desperate felowes: the which thing that I might doe it the better , I declared certaine tokēs, by the which true religiō might be discerned from false religiō, and true Prophetes frō false Prophetes . In the doing wherof if I lacked discretion, we shal see anon. Thus much haue I spokē concerning my letters, the which you saie were written without good argument, and without anie comely grace. Wherin I find a great lacke of grauitie in you : for it is not the part of a graue mā, to be moued with a talke, which is  
void

void of all good argumēt. And yet you  
(as a man maie wel cōiecture by your  
writinges) after you had read my let-  
ters, fell into such a pelting chafe, such  
a rage and madnes, that you betrayed  
your grieve by reprochfull and railing  
talke: yea you went so farre in it, that  
you were not alhamed to bewraie to  
the worlde the verie stammering and  
stuttering of your tongue.

You confesse also, that my letters  
were caried vp and down throughout  
al Christendome, the whiche shoulde  
not haue ben done, if they had ben  
written without anie good grownd.

But let vs see, how you, which saie  
that I had no argument to staie vpon,  
will answere that myne argument,  
by the whiche I prooued, that the  
puritie of the Gospel was not restored  
by your maisters, for so much as emon-  
gest the disciples of your Gospel there  
raigneth a nombre of most detestable  
vices. *Tus he*, saie you, *it is all false,*

*BB iiij that*

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that you report of the dishonestie of the men of our side. Such is your impudēcy, M. Haddon, that you will denie the thing, which is knowen and commonly bruted, yea which is sealed and cōfirmed by the testimoniall, of the whole worlde. Doe you not cōfesse the broiles and tumultes of Germany? See you not with your eyes, how voluptuousnes flieth to and fro auancing her selfe? how licentious Iuving getteth vp and down vncōtrolled? how the churches of religious men are prophaned with bloudhead? how al places of deuotiō are rifled and robbed how treason and wilie practises are wrought againste Princes by your sectaries? how al places, where so euer your maisters set vp schoole, are distourbed with hurly burlies? How then dare you saie, that that thing was neuer done, which you not only heare of other men, but also see it done daily with your owne eyes?

*Admit*

*Admit, say you, that this were true: yet could it neuer com of this cause which you gather. I would faine learne of you, how it should not come of this cause. There was alwaies, say you, darnel sowne amongst the good corne. There was alwaies seedes of diuerse kindes, of the which some were choked in the thornes, and some were dried up by the heate of the sonne. The false Prophettes did alwaies bende them selues against the true Prophets: our Lord Iesus Christ sowne Caiaphasses; the Apostles found Neron: the Martyrs, that folowed them, founde Decies. But to omit these thinges as ouer stale, I wil bring you home to your owne doores. In your Church is there not synne committed openly? Do not men offend in the sight of the worlde? You deny it not. Wel then, throwe away your argument, the whiche either it is of no force, or els, if it be, it is against your owne selfe firste, and against your Church.*

By



### THE THIRD

By this talke you thinke, that you haue toured the eadge of our dagger. But you see not, howe manie faultes there are in it. Firſte of all I deny not, that it was euer ſo ( as I ſaid plainly in my letters ) that there were manie vices in euerie common weale, and that the ſeades of naughtines were ſowen emongſt the good corne. But I required ( and that inſtantly ) to vnderſtand, how theſe menne of god had diſcharged their duetie, which tooke vpon them to purge the corne, and to plucke vppe al ſuch weedes **as** were noiſome to the corne. The which thing when I ſaw they performed not, yea, when I ſaw that through their diligence vice came vp a great deale ranker then it did before, I gathered by that, that their doctrine was nothing wholeſome. That the true Prophetes ſuſtained the enmitie of falſe Prophetes, Chriſte of Caiphas, the Apoſtles of Neron, the Martyrs  
of

of Decies, I graunt you : but that maketh much more for the confirmation of myne argument . For vertue was euer enuied of the wicked , hatefull to viciouse , assaulted by the vnfaithful . And yet was it alwaies of suche pnyssaunce , that it preuailed against al craft and policie , against all subtil practises and priuie awaites , against the force of wickednesse and vice , and brought to the world a goodly and wholesome ordre . For they that gaue eare to the Prophetes , that folowed Christ , that kept the faith of the Apostles , that reuerenced the constancie of the Martyrs , were not presumptuous , wicked , disordered , and vicious : but they were wise , modest , gentle , courteous , decked and beautified with diuerse and sundry vertues . For the vertue of holy mē , the more it was assaulted , the greater and goodlier increase it yealded of godlie fruct . But your doctours whiche were sent , as  
you

Vertue euer assaulted , and yet preuaileth.

### THE THIRD

you say, from heauen into the worlde, hauing the aide of great Princes, being garded by the common people, yealded no fruite of honestie, chastitie, or meekenesse to such as folowed them.

I speake not of your aduersaries, by whom you wil complanie peraduenture, that your brethren haue benne wrongfully withstoode, euen as the Martyrs were some tyme by the Decies: but I speake euen of them, that loue Luther, Bucer, Zwinglius, and your Martyr, that praise and reuerence them, yea that esteeme them as gods: I say, that they them selues, whiche procured to haue these wise men to be their schoolemaisters, prooued neuer a whit the better: whereby it is concluded, that their doctrine was nothing wholesome, euen to suche as did not only not disalowe it, but also esteemed it very highly.

Now whereas you demaund of me of our Church (for so you speke) whether

ther it be voide of al synne: I haue alreadie lamented the synful life of our men very oft. There raigneth, I graūt you euen at this day emongest vs both couereousnes and ambition in manie: neither is voluptuousnes grubbed vp by the rootes.

Why then, say you, the argument, which I vsed, may easily be touned against our own selues. How so I pray you? If there should arise some great prophet emōgst vs, which would take so great a charge vpon him, as to purge and fine the gospel to restore the aunciet discipline, to proppe vp the Churche, which tendeth to ruine, with heauenly doctrine, to bring his disciples to liue like Apostles: if we should folow hi, and yet that notwithstanding liue in vice as we did before, then were this a good argumēt, both against our prophete, as also against our owne selues. But the brightnesse of this so cleere light hath not yet thined vpon vs: where-

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wherefore it is no wonder, if we continue stil in our accustomed synnes. But to you, whome the sprite hath replenished with a certaine new light, which might very easily haue ben instructed in heauenly thinges, by suche men, as were sent frō heauen for your saluation, whiche are by the goodnes of God already deliuered from superstition and hypocrisie which despise al wordly thinges, and wil suffer nothing to be mingled with the puritie of your Doctrine, vnlesse it be drawen out of heauen: to you, I say, it were nothing seemely to haue any daungerouse disease or cracke of vncleane vice. For, if you haue: your doctours, whome you commend aboue the skies, you shame them for euer, and their Doctrine you declare by your doinges to be not only vnprofitable, but also hurtfull and pestilent. But for so much as you desire to vnderstande the state of our Church, I will declare it vnto you

to you, so briefly as is possible.

Firſte of all, we doe moſte conſtantly hold and mainteyne the Goſpel, not of Luther, Melanchthon, Caroloſtadius, Zwinglius, Caluine or Bucer, but of Matthew, Marke, Luke and Iohn: and we keepe one faith, not this newly deuifed faith, which is ioyned with a raſh and vayne preſumption: but that faith, which was taught by the Apoſtles, and is not corrupted through the naughtines of outrageous and mad men.

In lyke manner we are incloſed within one Church, which was ſounded by Chriſt, inſtructed by the Apoſtles, fortified by the aide of the Martyrs, ſette out by the Doctrine of holie menne, defended and kepte alwaies inuincible by the power of the holy Ghoſte in ſpite of the malicious and violent attemptes of all Heretiques: and without this Church, we beleaue assuredly, that there is no

The ſtate  
and belefe  
of the Ca-  
tholike  
Church.

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is no hope of saluation.

This Church we acknowlege to be so linked in one meaning, in one spirite, in the agreeable confession of one faith, yea to be fast glewed together with such agreemēt in religiō, that no man can possibly by deuising new opinions (such as may concerne the principal points of religion) rend and teare it into a numbre of sectes iarring and squaring the one with the other without al reason and ordre.

And bicause we know by the gospel, by the testimonie of Martyrs, by the faithful and agreeable report of holie menne, by reason and common experience of thinges, that it is not possible, that the Church should be one, excepte it haue one supreme Gouvernour the Vicar of Christe, whiche may by his inuiolable authoritie ioyn together thinges separated, knitte vppon thinges loosed, and keepe all mentie in one faith and

vnifourme order: we do most willing-  
lie obeie the Bilhop of Rome, which as  
Christes deputy exerciseth this so great  
office in the earth, and what so euer is  
cōmaunded vs by him, we do it with-  
out any refusal. And the very experi-  
ence of thinges maketh vs to do it the  
more willinglie, bicause we see, that,  
where so euer this authoritie is taken  
away, there breaketh out by and by  
many pestilent and troublesome sects.  
That this power is builded not vpon  
any decree of man, but vpon the ordi-  
nauce of Christe him selfe, it is moste  
evidently proued, not only by the au-  
thoritie of the holie Scripture, but also  
by the testimonie of all the antiquitie,  
(wherein we are not ignorant).

We refuse not the authoritie of any  
lawfull power. For we beleeeue, as S.  
Paul teacheth vs, that al lawfull power *Rom. 13.*  
is ordeined by God: so that, who so  
euer resisteth a lawfull power, is to  
be taken as though he didde resiste

CC

not



Mar. 9. f.

not men , but God him selfe . For this  
 cause we beleue, that not only the de-  
 crees of Popes, but also the ordinances  
 of Kings (such as are not cōtrary to the  
 law of God ) are most diligently to be  
 obserued and kept. Emongest the ordi-  
 nances of mē this choise we make. Al  
 such as cause a slackenes in the keeping  
 of the law of God, we reiect, as the de-  
 uises of men: but al such as prouoke vs  
 to be more earnest in the obseruation  
 thereof , we iudge to haue ben ordein-  
 ed, not without the instinct of the ho-  
 ly Ghost. For Christ saied : He that is  
 not against you , is for you . For this  
 cause, we thinke that the rules of Ba-  
 file the great, of Benet, Bernard, Bru-  
 nus , Frauncis, Dominike , and other  
 the like singular good and holie men,  
 suche as tende to the perfection of a  
 Christian lyfe , are not to be sette at  
 naughte . For they are all written to  
 this ende , that suche as binde them  
 selues vnto them , may the more wil-  
 lingly

lingly keepe the chastitie of body, and  
cleanes of heart (the which two things  
are contained in the counsell of the  
Gospell ) and may with a great deale  
more freedome and cheerlinesse sing  
and prayse God daie and night , and so  
with the more facilitie folow the lyfe  
of Angels here in earth.

If we see any decaie in their man-  
ners through loosenes or negligence,  
we thinke it expedient to prouide out  
of hand, that it may be streightly bound  
vp by the rigour of the olde discipline,  
and not to ouerthrow the place, where  
men may liue so godly and so wonder-  
full a life . And bicause we can not  
be weaned from the acquaintance of  
the bodie so much as it were to be wis-  
hed we coulde : bicause we vnder-  
stande , that the beginning of mans mi-  
serie procedeth of negligence and for-  
getfulness, what so euer thing mai bring  
vs to remember the bowtifulnes and  
mercy of God, we vse it very diligētly.

## THE THIRD

Crosses.

Therefore euen as we make the signe  
of the Crosse vpon our forehead ( the  
which manner S. Basile referreth to a  
tradition of the Apostles ) so doe we  
set vp Crosses not onely in Churches,  
but also in our howses and highwaies,  
to the end , that the remembraunce of  
so great a benefite should neuer depart  
out of our minde . For if God , when  
he deliuered the peple of Israel by the  
diligence of Moyse out of the weake  
dominion of Pharao , gaue order vnto  
them, that they shoulde alwaies haue,  
before their eyes, in their handes, and  
in such places of their howses as were  
in sight, some monument of that bene-  
fit : how much more diligently ought  
we to doe it, which are redeemed, not  
by the meane of Moyse , but hy the  
benefite of that most bountifull Lord,  
which was offred vp for vs, from euer-  
lasting darkenes and damnation , into  
euerlasting light, libertie , and glorie ?  
For the same cause were the Ima-  
ges

ges of holy men set vp of olde time (as it is declared before) that men beholding them, should be moued the oftener to bend their mindes to thinke vpon those men, whiche walked more feruently in the steppes of Christ, and to dispose them selues the soner to follow their godlines and vertue. For in holie men, we doe not so much reuerence the men them selues, as the maiestie of Christe, whiche dwelleth in their heartes. For they are the sonnes of God, the brothers of Christe, the heires of the euerlasting and heauenlie kingdome: the whiche state all suche haue attained by the benefit of Christ, as haue so nailed their senses vpon the Crosse, that there liueth none other thing in them, but only the spirit, will, and pleasure of Christ: as S. Paule saide: *Gal. 2. d.* I liue, now not I, but Christ liueth in me. And so we honour in holy men a most excellent gift of God, a verie expresse Image of God, yea (after a manner

Images of  
Saintes.

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ner of spech) certain Gods, in the brightness of whome we extol and praise for euermore the moste high and euerlasting benefite of God.

The Catho-  
like faith.

Now the faith, in the which we liue, is such, that it doth neither minish our hope in attempting any good woorke, neither wipe away quite all feare or doubt of saluation: but it bringeth the wel disposed mindes in hope of godlines and vertue, and it driueth withall now and then a certaine feare into all such, as think vpon the rigour of Gods iudgementes. For Christe, which by his bloud hath drowned synne (as it is written) into the deapth, and hath furnished all suche, as are come vnto him with a liuely and true faith, with the giftes of holines, puritie and iustice, hath appointed euerlasting damnation to them, that refuse to obcie his commaundemente. For he was made the cause of euerlastinge saluation, not to euerie man, that boasteth of faith, but to such

Heb. 5. 6.

to suche as obeie him (as Saint Paule  
saith).

Wherefore we beleene, that the Workes.  
woorkes of holie menne are not di-  
steined, with anie vncleanes of synne  
(for that were a derogation and dis-  
honour to Christe, for so muche as  
they are donne by his grace and po-  
wer) and we knowe for certaine, that  
suche as thinke not, that the lyfe  
of manne is to be spent in doing ho-  
lie woorkes, (if they continue in that  
lewde opinion) shalbe tormeted in hel  
for euermore.

We confesse, that men being desti-  
tute of the aide and grace of Christe,  
can neither doe, nor endeavour, no nor  
thinke any thing, that is auailable to  
euerlasting saluation: and therefore we  
beleue, that all hope of saluation, all  
the meane to atteine vnto true ho-  
nour, all the staie of lyfe euerlasting  
resteth in the mercie of God. And Freevill.  
yet we beleue this assuredlie, that it  
CC iiij lieth

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lieth in vs, either to refuse, or els to accept thankfully this benefite, when it is offered vnto vs. And as we doe not deface, neither the signes of the holie Crosse, neither the Images of Christe, neither the monumentes of holy men: so do we thinke, that the reuerent ordre of al ceremonies, and the religious vsage of holie Sacramentes ( I meane not any newefourmed ordre, deuised and trimmed by the witte of fine M. Haddon, but that most old and auncient vsage, whiche was approoued by the ful agreement of the holy Fathers, as it may easily appeare by their writings) is moste reuerently and inuio-  
lably to be obserued and kept.

Ceremo-  
nies.

Penance.

Confessiō.

When we fall, we thinke it expedient soorthwith to haue recourse to the Church, and to the iudgement of the Priest. There is made a due examination of the sinne, and it is seene howe great the deformitie of it was: wher-vpon the mind, which is now ashamed  
of

of such vncleanes, doth the more earnestlie hate and detest the offence committed, and asketh pardon humbly, and is absolved by the sentence of the Priest, whiche representeth the personne of Christ: but yet so, that he must discretely submit him selfe to such order as the Priest will inioyne him. He that heareth you, saith our Sauour Christ, heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me.

*Mat. 10. d.*

*Luc. 10. c.*

*Io. 13. c.*

After this we come with feare and trembling, and with a good affiance of the mercie of God, vnto that most holy and dreadful Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, in the which banquet we are so refreshed and strengthened, that we doe withstand the tyrannie of bodily lustes with a greater force and courage. And bicause it were a daungerouse matter to leaue all this to the wil and discretio of euery man (for there are many sicke men, which will not be healed: and the life of the com-

Our Lords  
Supper.

mon



### THE THIRD

mon sorte is not so well gouerned by will, as by lawe and discipline ) it hath ben ordeined vpon great considerations, that all Christian men should be constrained to laie this so soueraigne a salue to their wounds at the least once euerie yeare. There are many, which come vnto this Sacramente oftentimes: but yet so, that they examine them selues before diligently, as Sainct Paule teacheth, and endeuoure them selues to wash out all the spottes of synne by the merite of Christ, which they may most easilie obteine, if they will confesse and forsake their former lyfe. It is a wonder to see, what a multitude of menne is sedde euerie Sonnedaye and Holie daie in the yeare, with this Diuine and heauenly foode, and howe by the helpe of it they are stirred more earnestlie to seeke after heauenly riches. For we see in them, that are oftentimes refreshed with the moste holy bodie of Christe, that the darkenes

darkenes of sinne is driuen away, the light of heauen riseth, verrue and godlinesse are planted in them, the moste goodlie fruites of iustice are powred vpon them abundantly.

Bishops, such as are able to preach, (the which hath ben litle regarded of some to the greate hinderaunce of the Church) do preach oftentimes. Such as are not able to discharge it themselues, appoint certain religious and wise persons, men wel learned, not in the rules of Bucer or your Martyr, but in the holy scripture, and in the bookes of the holy Fathers, to instruct the people with chaste, pure, and religious doctrine. And as we see it come to passe, especially in such as are bleare eyed, that, if they be either put into an extreme dark place, or els loke ouer steddily vpon the sonne beames, thei leese their sight: euen so, if me either be altogether turned away from the light of God, or els wil looke to intentiuelly vpon it, before the blearednes

The office  
of bishops

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rednes of their minde be healed, they are stricken stone blinde. Wherefore it is very wisely and warily prouided of vs, that we neither suffer the common people to lacke the light of Gods word any time, neither do we dasele their eies so muche with the brightnesse thereof (which they are not able to abide) that they may be therewithall miserablie blinded. We bring therfore none other thing in our sermons, but that, which we iudge effectual to bring men to the loue of godlines and folowing of charitie, to the hatred of sinne and forsaking of vncleanes of lyfe. And for this cause doe we set before their eyes oftentimes, the crowne of euerlastinge glorie, and the paine of the euerlasting torment. But the daungerous questions of darke and secret matters we do for good consideration leaue vntowched in such sermons as are made vnto the people. The authoritie of Bishops is great: in so much that, it is not very hard

hard for them to restraine the vnbridled lust of disordered persons, and to remoue them, that be obstinate in sin, from the Communion of the Church. Neither are such menne chosen to be Bishops, as may be either for basenesse despised, or for foolishnes set at naught, or for notoriouse vices reprehended, and so do much hurt by their example.

The times of the yeare are so consecrated and diuided with ordinarie and solemne ceremonies, that at all tymes there is somewhat done in the Church, which may renew in vs the remembrance of Gods graces and benefites.

The times  
of the yere

And, to beginne at the Moneth of Decembre, we are then styrred vp to remembre that time, in the which the holy Fathers of the olde time looked for the coming of the Sonne of God into the earth, and besought him with continuall prayers to hasten it, and had a most earnest desire to see it: that we

Aduent.

might

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might the better vnderstande, howe muche we are bound and endebted to God, which hath graunted vs the ioyfull fruition of that moste excellent fruit, which the old Fathers, very holy men, and of God intierly beloued, so griedily lusted and longed after.

Christmas

When the daie of Christes birth is come, we keepe watches, and singe hymnes and Psalmes by note: our organs also and others instruments sound euery where to the honour and praise of God: euery thing doth then stirre vs vp to beholde the Sonne of almightie God, the most excellēt Lord and maker of al the world, lying naked and crying in a mangier in the weake fourme of a sucking babe. We heare then with the eares of our heartes the voices of Angels bringers of that glad tydings: and we endeouour by faith to doe our homage with the sheapeherdes vnto the King that is borne vnto vs: and fixing our selues in the contēplation of him.

We

wee receiue the fruites of incredible ioye.

The first day of Ianuarie, the Church putteth vs in minde, to beholde the wound, which our Sauour receiued that daie, and the Mysterie of circumcision, and the moste dreadfull name of Ihesus, which is the pledge of our saluation, and the lesson, which was then geuen vs, of that most perfect obedience: and so by the strength and signification of this moste holie name, we labour muche more cheerefully to attaine to the saluation, which is promised vs.

What should I here saie of the most bright starre, which appeared to the Gentiles in the furthest partes of the East?

How might I expresse the incredible ioy and pleasure of the holie man Simeon, when he bare the child in his armes? What should I here rehearse the exceeding gladnesse and cumfort,

Newyeres daie.

Tyvelse daie.

Cadelmas

the

### THE THIRD

the which Anna the widowe conceived, or els the godli prophecies which shee pronounced, when shee behelde the Child? All these things hath the Church set before our eyes with solemne pompe, and procession, and candles burning, to the intent, they should sincke the deeper into our heartes.

Lent,

Now when the time of fasting draweth nere, we behold how Christ was baptised by Iohn in the flood Iordane: we here the voice of the Father: we consider the fast, wherwith the sonne of God punished his owne bodie: we record the tentations and wilie practises of Satan against him: we endeavour our selues, as muche as we can, to set out the victorie of Christ: we call to minde the homage of Angels, which brought him meate and serued him. By this exāple of Christ we are taught, that we ought to kepe stil that puritie and cleanes, whiche we receiued in the holie fount of Baptisme: that we  
should

should receiue the voice of the father  
 commaunding vs to obeye him, with  
 heart and minde: that we should sub-  
 dewe the body with fasting, and en-  
 counter with our old enemye the di-  
 uel: to the end that, at the length, the  
 battaile being fought, and the victo-  
 rie by the mightie protection of God  
 atchieued, we might be refreshed with  
 heauenly foode and comforted by the  
 ministerie of Angels.

When the time approacheth, in the  
 which we mind to celebrate the sup-  
 per of our Lord, to do so holy a worke  
 with the greater deuotion, we pre-  
 pare our selues much more diligently  
 then at other tymes: and we doe it  
 with gladnes and feare together. Then  
 doe we consecrate the holy Oiles, by  
 the which are signified diuers gyftes  
 and graces of the holy Ghost, accor-  
 ding as S. Denyse and other holy Fa-  
 ther write: and we minister the body  
 of our Lord to al such as are readie to

The holy  
 Weeke.

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receiue



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receyue it: and we wash the feete of poore men, not only with water, but also with many teares sometimes: and by this example we cause suche, as looke on, to powre out teares abundantly. But when we behold attentively Christ hanging on the Crosse: when we consider, how he was scorned, reuiled, tormented and put to death: when we pray for the saluation of all menne: when we come bare-footed to worship Christ in his Image: when we bring in God him selfe complaining of our misliuing: when we craue pardon for our synnes in moste humble and lowly wise: what man, thinke you, is then in the Church, which is not soorthwith stirred vp to forsake synne, and to folow a better ordre of life?

Easter.

But when Easter day is come, we vse suche honour and pompe, we sing suche Hymnes and Psalmes, to aduance the victorie and triumph of Christ

Christ raised from death, to set out the  
 sacke and spoile of his enemies, to ma-  
 gnifie his euerlasting kingdome and  
 empire, that we may seeme for verie  
 ioye and gladnesse to be besides our  
 selues.

His ascension also we recorde in <sup>Ascension</sup>  
 such sort, that we thinke it our part, to  
 bend our selues, as much as we can, to  
 clymme vp together with Christ into  
 those goodlie dwelling places of hea-  
 uen.

What may be saide of that inesti- <sup>Witson-</sup>  
 mable benefit, wherein the holy ghost <sup>tide,</sup>  
 enkindled the Disciples of Christe  
 with the loue of God, and enflamed  
 them with fyerie tongues, to the end  
 that they should go throughout al the  
 world, and wrap vp that heauenly fyer  
 in the bowells of faithfull men? With  
 howe great ioye and gladnesse is that  
 feast also obserued and kept in all the  
 Church?

Moreouer whē we keepe the memo- <sup>The feasts</sup>  
<sup>of Saints</sup>  
 DD ij rie of

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rie of holy men, in whose heartes the maiestie of Christ dwelled, with dew reuerence: (for it is not lawtul to separate them from the companie of Christ, whom he him selfe taketh vnto him as felowes and comparteners of his goods) we are stirred vp to a hope of a certaine diuinitie, when we cast with our selues, how they, that are of the selfe samè nature that we be of, for the likenesse which they had with God in vertue, haue most happily attained the state euen of Goddes.

The feasts  
of our  
Ladie.

And as we doe most highly prayse the holines of other (as it becometh vs to do) so do we especially honour, reuerence, and worship that singular patterne of cleanes, virginie, and godlines, that heauely and meruelous tēple of the holy ghoste, that most holy and immortal tabernacle of the euerlasting promise, out of the which riseth the sonne of iustice, to put away with the brightness of his beames the darkenes  
of

of the whole worlde: and wee doe  
with right good affiaunce cal for the  
helpe of the sayd most blessed Virgin  
in our distresse and necessitie, and  
wee finde, that her prayers doe vs  
muche good often tymes before her  
Sonne.

The seruice of the Church is so or-  
dered, that, the yeare touning about,  
there is no benefite of God, the reme-  
braunce whereof the holy Church  
wil suffer to be forgotten. And the  
Church doth represent the memo-  
rie of al these benefites in such sorte,  
that it seemeth, that they are not so  
much declared in words, as expressed  
in doinges. For as the excellent Poete  
saith:

The thinges we heare, do not so soone  
prouoke the mind to rise,

As doe the thinges, that vewed are,  
with true and faithfull eyes.

Al these thinges, which I haue here  
declared, with manie other of lyke

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sort,

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sorte, whiche I haue omitted (for I thinke it not necessarie, to rehearse particularly euery point) are not (I graunt you) matters of perfection. They are certayne introductions and necessarie helps for vs, whiche haue some what to doe as yeat with this mortall condicion, as we feele by experience. For so often as these ordinances of the Church are litle Regarded, the minde waxeth dul, diligence fainteth, the loue of religion flaketh, and so by litle there creapeth into our heartes a certayne forgetfulness of vertue and godlinesse. Agayne, when we bende our mindes earnestly to sette vppe agayne those godlie ordres, we feele, that the loue of religion and godlinesse is stirred and enkindled in vs. And no meruaile. For why, the brightnesse of that light, which hath so wonderfully lightened your mindes, is not yet risen vnto vs: neither are we so weaned from the  
ac-

acquaintaunce of the body, that we may be without all these outward signes of heauenly thinges any tyme without greate daunger. This is the ordre of the Church, which is holy, simple, and one: this is the rule and Discipline, by the whiche all wee, whiche haue not yet atteyned vnto the highest degree of wisedome, are instructed.

Now I haue declared these thinges, it remayneth, that I tourne my talke vnto those your heauenly felowes, and men of God, the which being not contented with this beaten and common discipline, haue taught their disciples a newe trade and doctrine which is more wonderful then this. Geue me leaue therefore to talke with them after this sort.

It is a great matter (right wondrousfull Sirs) and a harde enterprise, whiche you haue taken in hande: a thinge of so greate importaunce

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in deede, as none of al those holy Fathers, whose vertue and witte we esteeme very much did euer attempt the lyke in all their life: to cure an old forgrowen disease with a new kind of medicine. When you sawe that the old discipline was fallen, that manners were decayed, that vnlaufull lust rag'd vp and downe without restraint, that the Church tended to ruine: you did, (as it became holy men sent from heauen) take it verie heauily. Wherein I can not blame you. For it was a matter worthie of many teares and much bitter weeping. But you rested not so: bicause it were a token of a feint heart and weake stomake, to pitie the fall and ruine, and not to procure any other remedie for suche a mischiese, but onely a few teares. You did not therefore, as we are woont to doe, sorowe and lament so great a mishap, and powre out teares vnto God for it: but you thought it good to provide  
by

by your labour, studie, and wakefull diligence, that the Church should not be quite ouerthrowen. And who can denie, but that this is a token of an honourable hart and a valsaunt cowrage. But let vs see, after what sort you haue perfourmed this so great, so weightie, and so worthie an enterprife.

I must therfore repete a sentence, whiche I vsed in my letters, for the whiche M. Haddon, a man brought vp in your rules and doctrine, quarellled with me verie sharply. What: haue you thought it expedient to heale the woundes, which the Christian cōmon weale hath taken, by such meanes, as the most holy Fathers vsed of old time in propping vp the Churche, when it was like to decaie? No, saie you: for they were the deuises of men: and so great a mischiefe coulde not be remedied by mans healpe, but only by the staie and mightie power of God. And therfore you determined to forsake all wordlie



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wordlie healpes, and to sticke only to the word of God. Verie wel. For that is it in deede, which healeth the mind, fortifieth the strength, geaueth light to the soule, and bringeth it to euerlasting glorie. Wherefore I long to see some worke of this your word of god (wherein you glorie so much) which maie be so notable and so vndoubtedly wrought by God, that it mai appere to the world by it, that you did not without good cause set all other remedies at naught, and lay all the hope of your saluation vpon the only staie of this your gospel. But for so much as the kingdom of god that is to saie, the gospel and power of the word of God consisteth, not in the vaunt of woordes, but in a meruelous vertue: and this vertue standeth, not in vndiscret and sawcy talke, not in filthy and licentious liuing, not in bitter hatred and flamboldnes, but in modestie, continencie, and charitie, in the workes of iustice, and loue of godlines: my desire

fire is to surueie narrowly this your  
wonderful gentlenes; courtesie, softnes,  
patience, continencie, charitie, holines  
of life, and other the like vertues,  
which maie witnesse, that the Church  
hath ben preserued by you. But this  
can not be, saie you, before all suche  
things, as hinder this our great and  
godlie pourpose, be taken quite away.  
For it is the office and dewtie of the  
worde of God, to pul downe the olde  
howse, before the fowndacions of the  
new howse be laied. I take this also to  
be verie well and wisely spoken. For  
euen as a medicine pourgeth choler  
or other noisome humours, which do  
molest the body, before it doth repaire  
nature being feeble and brought low:  
so was it expedient for you, to expell  
pride, coueteousnes, leacherie, and  
other diseases of the soule, be-  
fore the Church coulde receiue the  
comfortable nourishment of vertue  
and godlines. This deuise of yours I  
like

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like verie well. But now I desire to know, how these hurtfull and pestilēt humours haue ben poured by you. Oh, saie you, ther was nothing in the world so much against godlines, as superstition: wherfore our principal care was, to take awaie al superstition. You are not to be blamed for that: for in deede there is nothing so muche contrarie to true vertue, as is false and counterfeiste vertue. Wel now, I will not demaund of you, howe you haue taken awaie superstition: for that is verie eident. You haue defaced the authoritie of the Bishop of Rome: you haue ouerthrowen the howses of Monkes and Nunnes: you haue laied hand on such goods, as were apointed to holie vses: you haue rifled churches: you haue bestowed the goods of them vpon whome you listed: you haue diminished the reuerence of the auncient ceremonies: you haue defiled the religious vsage of Sacramentes: you haue  
throwen

throwen downe Images, monumētes,  
Crosses, and aulters: you haue condē-  
ned the deuout teares and good works  
of holie men as naught and vngodlie:  
you haue disanulled the holie decrees,  
lawes, and ordinances of the Church:  
you haue cut of all hope of true ver-  
tue and honestie, by a certaine tyran-  
nical estate or inuincible kingdome of  
synne, which you haue ful clerkely by  
your doctrine set vp. Neither were  
you cōtented with this wast and spoile  
of thinges, but you haue also taken  
quite away the freedome of mans wil:  
and contrarie to nature and reason, cō-  
trarie to the equity and iustice of gods  
lawe, you haue tied vp all the doinges  
and thoughtes of men, good and bad,  
wholesome and vnwholesome with a  
certaine farall necessitie. These are the  
thinges (with manie other of like sort)  
whiche, I see, are by you, as the lettes  
and staies of wholesome doctrine,  
pulled downe, defaced, destroied,  
man-

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mangled and minced in peeces.

I doe not now bewaile the decaie and wast of holie thinges. For if the health of the church could not otherwise be recouered, if the Gospel could not otherwise be brought to his olde brightnes and dignitie, I could easily beare this losse, and it woulde not grieue me to see those thinges, that stande whole, the whiche you haue not yet destroyed, to be vtterly rased withall.

Wherefore if you haue left anie thing vntowched, sette vpon it also, if it like you, shake it, pull it, hurle it downe vpon the grownde, so that you restore vs that auncient seruencie of godlines, that loue of iustice and equitie, that amplenesse of charitie, that contempte of wordlie thinges, that earnest desire of heauenlie life, with the whiche the Church was inflamed of old time in the Apostles daies. This is the puritie of the Gospel,

pel, this is the excellent worke of the worde of God, in this standeth the whole perfourmaunce of your promise. You can not discharge your dewtie and bande with anie meane vertue. For when I see the sacke and spoile, whiche you haue made, to be so great, howe might I thinke it to stande with right or reason, that you shoulde recompence it with anie meane commoditie? Wherefore I will aske you once againe, although M. Haddon be offended withall, I will earnestly demaunde, yea I will most instantly require of you, what thing is restored by you in the steede of all those thinges, whiche you haue pulled downe? I will repete the selfe same woordes, that I vsed in those my letters, whiche M. Haddon so muche reuiled.

What is ouerthrowen I see, but what is set vp, I see not: what is grubbed vp by the roote I perceiue, but what

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what is planted I perceiue not. Tell me, I praie you, what it is, to repaire the doctrine of the Gospell when it tendeth to decaie? What it is, to bring al thinges verie neere, as M. Haddon your disciple saith, to the rules of Christian godlines vnto the most holie doctrine of the Apostles? what it is, to driue awaie with a newe light and brightnes the darkenes of errours, and mist of synne, in the which men liued? I think it be, to bring to passe, that men maie haue no wil to looke down vnto the earth, that they may be desirous to looke vp to heauenward, to become modeste and humble, to be inflamed with the loue of holines and chastitie, to be decked and beawtified with the cōmendable vertues of meekenes, patience, grauitie, and constancie, to be verie obedient to the Rulers of the Church, to yeald verie great honour and loue to the gouernours in the cōmon weale, to emploie their whole  
life,

life, deuises and practises to a common profite, to be zelously bent towardes godlines and Religion, finally to make and prepare the way to heauē by godly vertues.

I demaund of you therefore, whether there be anie one man amongst al those, that so much esteeme and reuerence you, yea that sette you vp as Goddes, endewed with such a feruent loue of heavenly thinges, with suche chastitie and cleannes of life, that he wil not suffer him selfe to be disteined with any spot of dishonestie: with such patience and gentlenes, that, although he be prouoked with railing and dispitiful language, he wil not only not offende in worde, suche as wronged him, but also wish them al good things and prosperitie: with suche louingnes and charitie, that he wil bestowe all his substance to the common profite; with suche grauitie and constancie, that he wyll neuer be disordered:

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with



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with suche a burning loue of euerlasting life and glorie, that he wil forsake all the light and vaine pleasures of the worlde, that he will pitch downe his Crosse, and dash against it all his vnlawfull lustes: that he wil thinke vpon Christ only, and sit downe at his feete: that he wil loue God earnestly, and be, as it were, violently caried vp to heauen in mind and thought. With al these vertues did the Church sometimes flourish: with these fier brades of godlie loue were men of olde time inflamed: from this most seruient loue of godlines coulde they not possibly be brought by anie terrour or tormentes. And this tooke you vppon you, to pouge the gospell thoroughly, to put to flight superstition vtterly, and to enkindle againe the light of the aunciēt Church, which was put out.

Be therfore as good as your word, persourme your promise, discharge your debt, into the whiche you are incurred.

curred. Restore that puritie of mind,  
 restore that chastitie of bodie, restore  
 that seruencie of godlines, restore that  
 continencie, and gentlenes, that peace  
 and concord, that band of charitie and  
 frindship, bringe your countreimen  
 againe to that state, from the whiche  
 we are al fallen: that you maie by such  
 a wonderful alteration of thinges, and  
 heauenlie example of vertue put vs to  
 silence, to whome this newfanglednes  
 is both suspected and hateful. As for vs,  
 it is no meruaile, if we haue not as yet  
 attained this great and high perfectiō  
 in vertue. For you haue not yet set  
 out this goodlie light to vs. I aske this  
 question therfore of such only, as take  
 your part, how holily, how vpright-  
 ly, how religiously they liue. For rea-  
 son would, as I saied before, that we  
 should looke for no meane matters at  
 your handes. For you haue taken  
 vpon you a charge of so great honour,  
 magnificencie, and profite to the

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worlde, as possibly there can not be deuised a greater. Wherefore vnlesse your adherentes and disciples doe so much excell in vertue and honestie al other men, that are vertuous and godlie, (and yet be not of your schoole) that they maie dymme the light of their vertue, and put them out of conceite: you haue not fulfilled your promise. For if the selfe same degree of honestie might haue ben kept and mainteined by vs, without the losse and ruine of those thinges, vpon the whiche you haue laied your violent and griedie handes: if the vertue of your brethren doe not verie much passe the vertue of our men: shal it not appeare to the worlde, that you wise men haue taken a great deale of paines in defacing of those thinges, which you haue ouerthrowen, to no pourpose or profite? Shall it not be seene, that those thinges were not the lettes or staies vnto you, for the which you

could not exercise iustice and godlines?

What if your Disciples are not only neuer the better by defacing those thinges, but rather much more disordered and outragious, much more wicked and vicious? What, if licentious liuing be now lesse punished, if mischieuous hardines be now greater, if more debate and greater broyles haue bene stirred vp, sence you haue set your selues to be teachers of men? What, if moe robberies and shamefuller actes are now comitted amongst you in euery parte of the realme (if it be true, that is reported)? What, if there be wrought more traiterous practises against the maiestie of Princes, euen by such as haue geauen them selues fully and wholly to your doctrine?

But I wil let your maisters goe, and will vrge you, M. Haddo, once againe? What can you alleage? What example can you bringe of that auncient

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vertue? How can you mainteine and defend this newfanglednes? And yet you will auowch, that your Church differeth nothing at al from the order and discipline of the Apostles. You saie manie things in deede: but no mā, which is in his right wit, will euer beleue you. It is not ynough to affirme, what so euer you list, in wordes. I loke for the examples of this heauenly vertue, and not for vaine woordes. If you see vnlawful lust set at libertie, disorder flinging vppe and downe without checke, the highe waies beset with theeues and murderers, tumultes stirred vp, cōspiracies wrought, and dangerous practises deuised against common weales euerie where: if all these mischiefes be not only not taken away after the time that the doctrin of these felowes, whom you so highly commend, tooke place, but rather much more increased: with what face dare you saie, that this your newe doctrine differ-

differreth nothing from the doctrine of the Apostles?

You saie, that I require a perfection which can not be had in this life. It is like ynough sir, that I doe speake of light offences, such as continent and honest men may fal into euery houre, and not of most vile, filthie, and infamous crimes, such as haue cawsed all holie things to be wasted, spoiled, and cōsumed with syer, without any fruct of godlines and Religion, the whiche thinges these felowes promised to restore.

You require of me, that our church as you cal it, and yours maie be set together and compared, that it maie appeare at the length, whether of them both is more established by the authoritie and doctrine of the Apostles.

Your request is not reasonable. For I saie not, that there is no spot of vncleanes at all emongest vs. But I saie and affirme, that it is verie ill done of

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you, that those spottes are not taken awaie emongest you by the diligence of your Apostles. We haue promised nothing, we haue not pledged our faith and truth, that all thinges should be brought againe to the olde perfection by our diligence: no man can call vs into the court, and charge vs, that we haue not stooode to our promise. But these men, who, as you saie, were sent from heauen, haue take this much vpon them: to restore the puritie of the Gospell, to bring againe charitie, holines, cōtinencie, with that most earnest longyng after the euerlasting glorie, to bring al other such vertues, as ar cōteined in the word of god, to light, which were before buried in darkenes, and to set vp once againe a heauenly cōmon weale vpo the earth.

But that you maie see, what courtesie and fauour I wil shew you in this conflicte, I will not require of you to examine and trie your manners by  
the

the streight discipline of the Apostles, and by that exacte rule of most holie and perfect religion : but to compare the state of this your Church with the grauitie, vertue, religion, and worshipful behaiour of your auncetours: the which thing if I can intreat you to do, you shall vnderstand that there is so great oddes betwene your gospellishe doctrine, and the honorable religion of olde England, as can not be expressed in wordes. Why then sir, what a thing is this? If you were neuer able, after the tyme that you gaue your selues to these newe and vngodly opinions, to reach to any part of the honour of your auncetours: by what meanes, I praye you, shall you be able to atteyne to that auncient perfection of the Church, whiche flourished in the Apostles dayes to the great wonder of the world? Are you so voide of all witte and reason, that you thinke it ynough to say, that your Church



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Church differreth nothing from the Apostles doctrine, as though me were bound by and by to belecue you? No sir, that must be shewed and prooued, not by bragging and light behauour, not by boasting and reprochfull wordes, but by wonderfull examples of iustice, innocencie, chastitie, cleanes, religion, and charitie, by a most holy life, a most vertuouse conuersation, and a most seruent loue of godlinesse. Yea, M. Haddon, I tell you once againe, that it is not sufficient for them, that haue promised to bring the loose manners of our tyme to that most flourishing state of the primitiue Church, to be meanly vertuous: they must excell, they must be wonderfull. The whiche thing bicause they do it not, but rather, whersoeuer they put their foote, they leaue the grownde embrewed with muche naughtinesse and vice: it is very euident and plaine, that they could not perfourme so much, as they

they had promised. For they haue brought into the common weale, for the cleannes of the Gospell, fowle vices: for peace and loue, debate: for modestie, pride: for religion, wickednes: for liberty, bondage: for good order, licentious liuing: for pleasaunt calmenes, a most crewel storme. And yet you like a godly man lay before me the iudgement of God, to make me a-fraied: in the whiche you say, that I poore wretch (for so it pleaseth you to terme me) shal yeald an accōpt of this so heinous and wicked offence before the iudgement seat of Christ, bicause I haue presumed to rebuke those holie, continent and religious persons.

In deede there is good cause, why I should feare. For M. Haddon a wise man, and such a one as hath familiar cōference with God at al tymes, wold neuer haue said it, vnlesse it had bē declared vnto him before, by some heauenly reuelation. Reason would therefore,

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fore, that I should tremble and quake  
for feare of that iudgement, the which  
you your selfe feare neuer a deale, and  
yet you threaten me very seuerely  
withal.

You say, that I doe not only laugh  
at your Gospell, and deface your Do-  
ctours, ( whiche are very heauenlie  
menne ) but also violently wrest Hie-  
remie. The which thing how false it is,  
I wil declare hereafter.

You say afterwarde, that all that  
testimonie of Hieremie concerning  
false Prophetes perteyneth vnto vs.  
Howe so sir? Hearde you euer say,  
that there was any newe Prophete e-  
mongest vs, that went about to tourne  
vs away from the auncient Religion?  
That warranted vs of peace and ioy-  
litie, as though he had had commission  
from Christe so to doe? That taught  
the people, that synne should escape  
vnpunished? You retourne once a-  
gayne to speake your pleasure by the  
holy

holy Church, the ordre wherof I haue  
 already declared: in the whiche al-  
 though there be some diseases, yet  
 they are suche as may be cured. For  
 we refuse not the medicine, the which  
 without the Church can not be found  
 els where.

After that you commend your own  
 Church highly. *The publike sermons, say*  
*you, you commit to certaine seely friers:*  
*and they declaime after their owne fas-*  
*shion, in other matters they are dome.*  
 As touching preaching, I haue said al-  
 ready, that this charge is in no wise to  
 be neglected of the Bishoppes: nei-  
 ther doth the holy Church beare  
 with such negligence: but rather ex-  
 horteth and chargeth al Bishops most  
 streightly, to folow the office of prea-  
 ching and teaching with all diligence.  
 And it is no reason, that the negligēce  
 of a fewe men should be imputed to  
 the whole Church, the which is so ca-  
 reful to take good and wholesome or-  
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dre with euery particular man', that he should doe his dewtie. Moreouer, there are, as I sayd before, many Bishops amongst vs, the which preach oftentymes, and stirre vppe their subiectes to the loue of godlines. But admitte it were alwaies so, that the sermons were made by Monkes: doubtlesse it is more tolerable, that godly and religious persones should be appointed by the Bishops to doe that office, then that base fellowes, and suche as are poisoned with most pestilent and erroneous doctrine, should be made rulers ouer Churches.

Whereas you say, that at our sermons the audiēce is brought a sleepe, I graūt it must needes happen so sometimes, when he, that preacheth, can not be so eloquent and fine, as you are. What then? Bicause some man nappeth a litle sometime, therefore shall not the rest awake them selues, and geaue diligent care to the sermon? shal no

shall no preacher be able to moue and exhort his hearers to serue God with greater loue and feruency?

*In the ministring of Sacramentes,* say you, *the Priestes only are doers, the rest are but lookers on.* Of lyke you are not pleased with that. You haue no liking in modest and seemely ordre. You would peraduenture, that there should be made a disordre and confusion of offices, and that al men should take vppon them the office of priesthood. But we thinke, that that comely ordre was ordeyned by God, that Priestes only should minister the Sacramentes, and that the rest should take the profit of them with silence, and not medle them selues with the diuine seruice.

As concerning the vnknownen tongue, in the which the seruice is saide, I haue spokē sufficiently already: wherefore, bicause I wil not repete one thing often tymes, I referre you to those thinges,

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things, that are said before.

*Let vs now enter, say you, into the masses, in the which you would haue the very marow of religion to be powred out.*

That is very true. For they conteine in them a most seruient lifting vppe of the heart vnto God, moste holy and deuout prayers, the monumentes and remembraunces of Christe, whiche represent vnto vs his life, his passion, his death, and merites, the ordre and working of our saluation, and the appeasing of the displeasure of God. And (that I may say nothing elles) in them is offered vppe the moste holie bodie of Christ, the selfe same Sacrifice, that taketh away the vncleane spottes of synnes, that yealdeth vppe thanks to our most mighty Lord and bountifull parent, that enkindleth godly mindes, and inflameth deuout hearts with the loue of euerlasting life and glorie.

You say moreouer, that no mā entermedleth

medleth with the Gospell emongest vs. You say wel in that. For we can not abide, that euery man should be a Reader, euery man a Doctour, euery man a Prophet. But we thinke it expedient to prouide, that al thinges may be done honestly and orderly.

Where you saie, that all exhortations out of the Gospell are whisshed emongest vs: that is false. For we haue continuall preaching, and there is expounded, what so euer cōcerneth saluation, (not vnlearnedly, nor yet vn-sauerly, as you imagine :) and the hearers keepe silence after a very modest and comely sorte.

You come, saie you, *to the Lordes Table once peraduenture euery yeare, and that more for a solemne ceremonie, then for a contrite heart.* This gesse of yours is very vaine also. Truthe it is, that al men are bownde by lawe and order to come vnto our Lordes Table once in the yeare; but such as doe it but once

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in the yere, are not wont to be cōmen-  
ded . And emongest vs there are of  
such as feaste them selues at this hea-  
uenlie banquet very often, an exceding  
great number . Whereas you say, that  
it is done for a solemne ceremonie on-  
lie, and not for a contrite heart, you  
doe but gesse as your manner it . And  
for so muche as your gesse prooueth  
false, it seemeth, that you may woor-  
thilie be numbred emongest the false  
Prophetes . When you saie, that in  
this supper the supper of our Lorde is  
not remembred of vs, you speake with  
out the booke, euen as you didde be-  
fore . Howe be it, as touching the  
Supper of our Lorde, I can not wel  
tell, what to saie to you . For as yet  
I am not perfectlie insourmed, whe-  
ther you folowe the wicked opini-  
on of your Martyr, or no . If you doe  
folowe him, with what reuerence or  
trembling can you come to the Sacra-  
ment of the Aulter, seeing that you be-  
leue

leue, that there is none other thing in it, but onely a naked and bare remembrance of the death, which Christ suffered vppon the Crosse for vs? If you follow him not, wherefore do you not abhorre and detest the naughtie and wicked felowe?

You find fault with vs also, bicause we haue no publike or open confession of our synnes emongest vs. I woulde faine learne of you, how that synne, which is committed secretly, is to be confessed in the face of the worlde.

*I haue, saie you, declared your vsage.* You blamed me, bicause being vnacquainted with the affaires of England, I declared suche thinges, as are notoriouslie knowen and caried by letters, by talke, by moste constante reporte of all menne, into all Countreys and Coastes, euen to the furthest partes of the world, to the great grieue of all such as heare them: and

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yet

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yet you speake rashly of our matters, whiche you haue neither seene, nor vnderstoode, (and therefore you vse this word, *peraduenture*) and as though you knew very exactly, al those thinges, which you haue spoken, you saie boldlie, that you haue declared oure vsage, and that very plainly.

After that you tourne againe to the commendation of your Church. You speake much of your continuall preaching, of the despising of mans traditions, of your Psalmes, and Hymnes, and Lawdes, with the which you honour the Lord. Anon after you saie thus. *Then foloweth the holy table of the Lord, which is occupied enery holie daie. The minister of God calleth vp all such as haue prepared them selues to that so heauenly a banquet.* Do you call that a heauenlie bāket, the which your Martyr, whom you set out with heauēly praises, went about to bereafe of al heauenlineffe? Furthermore you tel vs not, how sober they

they are, when they come to this supper, how wel they are clad with their marriage garment, with what examination with what seruencie and wakeful diligence they prepare them selues vnto it. And of your Minister you saie neuer a worde, by what meanes, with what ceremonie, after what ordre of Religion, by whome he came to that dignitie.

You talke muche of the puritie of your sermons, whereas in deede there can not possibly be any puritie in such a corrupt and pestilent doctrine.

Last of al you declare not, what fruite this your religion bringeth. For you shew vs not your wonderful charitie, your puritie and holines of life, your meruelous woorkes of godlines and charitie. And yet you saie thus.

*I might in this place make an opposition in coparison, lest I lacked wordes, where- with I might, if I would, trimme it and set it out. I would be glad to see you*

FF iij      doe it,

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doe it, M. Haddon. Howe greate a  
praise had that bene vnto you, if you  
had laied together diuers examples of  
hothe sydes, and shewed, howe this  
churche whiche you set foorth so so-  
lemly, is most like vnto that auncient  
and primitiue Church, which was de-  
dicated by the blood of Christ, and in-  
structed in the doctrine of th'Apostles;  
in vpright and heauenly conuersation,  
in innocentie, vertue, constancie low-  
linesse, pacience, chastitie, in modest  
and seemelie behauour. If you had  
don this, you had dispatched the whol  
matter. Wherefore did you not braue-  
lie set out that opposition or compari-  
son, which you speak of? Wherefore did  
you not set out to the world the wor-  
thie actes and holie woorkes of your  
maisters? Wherefore did you not clere  
that point, in the which consisted the  
very ground and pith of the whol mat-  
ter? I assure you, you had had the daie  
of vs, if you had declared, how much  
these

these newe Prophettes dooe passe in heauenlie vertues, and had shewed withall that there is no difference betweene them and the olde Disciples of Christ. What, could a man of such a wonderfull witte and singular eloquence, as you are of, lacke wordes, in the defence of so true and so honest a cause as this is?

But that conclusion of yours liketh me meruelously wel. You saie thus.

*A man may see more sorowing and sighing in one holye Supper of the Lorde, which our men doe resorte vnto, then in sixe hundred of your solemne Masses.*

First of al if you thinke, that al Sacramentes are to be ministred with teares and sighes, you are fowly ouerseene.

For there is a time of sorow, and a time of gladnes, as Salomon saith. Then it cometh to passe oftentimes that we may think of heauely things more earnestly and more attētiueli without sorow then with sorow. Last of all I would faine

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### THE THIRD

learne of you , what these your sighes doe meane . Doe thei signifie a desire and longing after the olde Religion againe ? Or els serue they for a cloke to couer your new disguised Religion ? Or els is there no suche matter at all ? For Erasmus and certaine other learned men , haue geuen this marke vnto your Religion , that none of you al wil once sigh , no not vppon such daies as are to be kept with teares and sorow . And Luther him selfe , the foreman of all this rable , he neuer wept nor sorowed , at the remembrance of the bitter paines and tormentes , whiche Christ suffered for vs vppon the Crosse . For he was a man fortified with incredible hardnes , and a deadly enemy to weeping and teares .

As for the diuerse expositions of our Doctours , which you speake of , thei are altogether impertinent to our matter . For there is no disagreeing amongst vs in suche matters as concerne the grownd

grownde of our faith and Religion.

But to what end tend al these thinges,  
M. Waulter, to what purpose do you  
bring them? Be it, that these your so-  
lemnities be kept of you with so great  
pompe and ceremony, as you wil your  
selues: yet can I not see hitherto, that  
you haue by these your solempne sacra-  
mentes newly deuised by the goodlie  
witte of you and your companions, by  
this Religion set vp with such diligēce  
and prouident carefulnes, by these dai-  
lie sermons, by this sighing and sorow-  
wing, brought the Church to suche a  
state, as your Maisters promised you  
to doe. Wherefore you must pardon  
me, if I require one thing of you many  
times, if I be to importunate in asking  
it. Restore, I saie once againe, restore  
vnto vs the puritie of the Gospell, laie  
abroad those goodly wares of heauen-  
ly vertues, set out to the world the no-  
table lessons of this worthy Religion,  
that, when we see by your wonderful  
workes



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workes and honourable dedes, that the mightie power of the holy Ghoste is within you, we may be astonished seeing your miracles, and confesse, that those Prophetes, whiche taught you, were sent from God.

*Deut. 18. d.* Marke diligently, I pray you, what our Lorde hath saied as concerning a false Prophete. The Prophete, saith God, the whiche being seduced with pride, shall presume to speake in my name, the thinge which I commaunded him not to speake, or elles shall speake in the name of other Goddes, shall be put to death. If so be, that thou shalt thinke in thy hearte, howe may I vnderstande the woorde which our Lorde hath spoken? Thou shalt haue this token. The thing, which that Prophet foretolde in the name of our Lorde, if it come not so to passe, our Lord spake it not: but the Prophet deuised it of a pride of his own heart, and therefore thou shalt not feare him.

A mark to  
discerne a  
false Pro-  
phete by.

What

What thinge can be more euident and plaine, then this signe? What more prouidently spoken for our saluation? Being now warned and instructed by God, I geue no eare to wordes, but I tourne mine eye to workes: I loke to see, howe faithfully these Prophetes haue fulfilled their promise. It remaineth therefore, that wee consider, what Luther, Melanchthon, Bucere, Caluine and the rest of your Champions haue promised and taken vppon them, what hope they haue brought their adherentes into by their goodlie wordes. Doubtlesse thei caused men to conceiue this hope, that thei would bringe the doctrine of the Gospell to the olde perfection, that they would set Religion vp againe, as it was at the first, that they would staie vppe the Church, which tended to decaie.

Now this puritie of the Gospel, this holinesse of Religion, this sure staie of the Church, by what power and strength

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strength is it maintained? By fayth, gentlenes, chastitie, peace, concord, lowlinesse, obedience, charitie, godlines, and the great loue of God. But they haue brought into the world, for faith and religion, Church robbing: for gentlenes, crueltie: for chastity, loose liuing: for peace, whourlibourlie: for concord, ciuile discord: for lowlines, pride: for obedience, contempte of lawfull authoritie: for charitie, bitter hatred towardes all good menne: for godlines, wicked impietie: for godlie loue, the vtter decaie of all such holie thinges as stirred vs vp to the loue of God. They are therefore so muche shorte of the perfourmaunce of those thinges, which they haue in large and ample manner promised, that they haue rather by their labour and diligence so woorshipfullie employed, leste all thinges, whiche they tooke vppon them to resourme and bringe to the olde perfection, in much worse  
case

case, yea muche more depraued and disordered, then euer they were before. Wherefore these men were not sente from God. And so it is concluded by the Lawe of God him selfe, that they deserue no such commendations, as you geaue them, but rather euermlasting damnation.

I demaunde of you once againe. The vertue and puritie of the Gospell, doth it consist in good woorkes thinke you, or elles in woordes? Doubtlesse if we belecue our Lorde him selfe, we must saie, that it standeth rather in woorkes, then in a goodlie shewe of woordes. For so muche therefore as these your Maisters haue confirmed this new Gospel, not by good woorkes, not by woorking of miracles, not by continencie of lyfe, not by vprighte cōuersation, not by feruencie of mind, not by burninge desire, and longinge after heauenlie things, but by boasting and bragging woordes: is it not manifest,

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fest, that they are not partakers of the kingdome of heauen? Is it not cleere, that they were not sent from God? Is it not verie euident, that they were false Prophetes?

But let vs retourne vnto Ieremie. And first of all, where you saie, that I would, for a certaine pride, which is in me intolerable, be esteemed as one of Gods priuie counsel, I would faine learne of you, whereof you gather that. Heard you euer saie, that I preached anie newe Gospell? that I professed anie newe doctrine, the which in the olde time was neuer heard of? that I withdrew the people from the olde faith and auncient order with goodlie promises? that I mainteined anie opinion deuised by myne owne selfe so constantly, as though it had proceeded from God him selfe? No truly. What reason moueth you then to saie, that I take this so great a name vpon me, whereas in deede you see no token

token of such intolerable pride in me?  
You saie afterward .

*You molest Ieremie againe , and will not suffer the reuerende Prophete to take his breath.* If I haue molested the holie Prophete , I haue committed no small offence against my selfe. But let vs see , how you will prooue it. You procede thus . *You alleage these woordes of the Prophete . If they had stoode in my counsell , and had openly declared my woordes vnto the people , truly they had toured them from their euyl waie , and from their naughtie deuises .* The wordes of the Prophete are vorie cleere . I can not tell therefore how you goe about by your woordes to make them darke . It followeth .

*Let vs take our beginning out of Ieremie , whiche was a worthie Prophete.* You can saie none other. If you could M. Haddon , I doubt you would doe it. You goe forewarde .

*Did*

### THE THIRD

*Did he fraie al the Iewes from vice? Did he bend them al to vertue? Marke wel the whole ordre and proesse of his prophetic, conside the wailing that he maketh, which is in deede very lamentable. Hitherto you reason, not against me, but against the most godlie Prophete, to prooue him a vaine man: for you make him to speake contrarieties. He had saied before, that the word of God was of such force, that it brought men from vice to vertue. He lamenteth afterward, that, although he were stirred vp by the might and power of the word of God, yet he could not possibly bring the people from their wickednes. Wherefore he speaketh contrarieties, and disagreeeth exceedingly with him selfe. As you did therefore in S. Paule, euen so doe you now. You improue not my saying, but you make the man of God to speake contrarie to him selfe. But I saie on the other side: that it may most easily be prooued by*

*this*

this reason onely, that you could not vnderstand the meaning of the Prophete, bicause you thinke, that he dissenteth from him selfe. For it is not possible, that there should be any disagreement in the worde of God, of the which Ieremie was a minister. And yet you, to impugne more openly the meaning of the Prophete, you earnestly alleage the example of S. Peter, yea and of Christe him selfe, by whose preaching, say you, not al suche, as heard them, were fraied from their synne, vice, and wickednes.

And at the length you goe so farre, that you affirme, that whereas one man yealdeth to the warning of God, an other doth not, it is not in the free wil of euerie man, but that it was so ordeined before the beginning of the worlde: and so you confirme againe that fatal violence or necessitie. And whereas you heare the complaint of our Lord him selfe, whiche is very la-

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mentable, wherein he bewaileth the infidelitie of the Iewes, which would not be receiued vnder his winges, being thereunto very mercifully moued: yet do you impute their damnation, not to the wickednes of the naughtie men, but vnto God as the author thereof. The which impiety of yours is already sufficiently confuted, (so much as the place required.) But neither you neither your maisters doe vnderstand the Prophets: and therefore they imagine, that the Prophets should speake contrarieties.

Thinke you, that God by Ieremie gaue that token to discerne a true Prophete from a false: that al such, as were present at the sermons of a true Prophete, should forthwith be withdrawn from wickednesse, the which thing the false Prophetes could not doe? If you imagine, that the Prophete spake so, you are much deceiued. For our Lord him selfe, by whose  
spi-

spirite all the holy Prophets were en-  
kendled and stirred foreward, spea-  
king vnto those men, that were obsti-  
nately bent in synne, that shutte their  
eyes, and stopped their eares will-  
fully, that the light of heauen might  
not shine vppon them, or the Worde  
of God moue their heartes, made them  
not to forsake their wickednesse.  
And therefore he complayneth of the  
Capharnaites, and suche other as  
withstoode his Doctrine verie obsti-  
nately.

What is that then, that Hieremie  
said? Dowbtles this. That such as be-  
leeued the Prophetes, suche as hadde  
them in good estimation, suche as  
rooke their sayinges to be the verie  
answeres of God, (if those Prophetes  
were sent from God) there is no doubt,  
but that they were easily brought  
from vnbeleefe to faith, and from vice  
to an honest ordre of life. The  
whiche thing when it folowed not,

GG ij      it was

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it was a moſte ſure argument, that they were not ſent from God. For example.

*Ier. 20. 4.* Phasur the Prieſt was in high reputation. He bent him ſelfe earneſtly againſt Hieremie. Hananias deſired to be called and eſteemed as a Prophete. He was in lyke manner an enemy to Hieremie. Hieremie in thoſe daies threatned the people, that ther ſhould come a great plague ouer them: but the other ſignified vnto the people with manie circumſtances of words, that al ſhould be wel. Many men folowed them, but very fewe folowed Hieremie. Nowe fir, when there was ſuch a great diſſenſion betwene theſe two factions, by what token might a man diſcerne, whether of them was ſent from God? By the vertues and vices of ſuche as folowed either part. Therefore if it had ben diligently marked at that time, that ſuch as folowed Phasur and Ananias, or other the lyke falſe and deceitfull

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Prophetes, prooued neuer the better, but rather walowed stil most filthily in the selfe same vice, as they did before: might it not haue ben easily perceiued, that those Prophetes, vnto whom they had addicted them selues, were not sent from God? And contrarie wise if it had ben noted, that those fewe which folowed Ieremie, which resorted vnto him, which gaue diligent care vnto his doctrine, did forsake sinne, embrace godlines, and feare the iudgementes of God: they might haue iudged very well, that he was sent from God, and that the thinge which he spake came not from him selfe, but that he vttered suche thinges onelye, as he hadde learned of God.

Wheras therfore ther were at that tyme many men, whieh tooke vppon them the name of Prophetes, and said: thus saith our Lorde: when in deede they had neuer heard the voice of our

GG iij      Lorde:

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Lord: and clawed the common people and brought them in hope of a merie worlde, and said peace, peace, whē no peace, that is to say, no great quietnes, and abundaunce of thinges, but an extreme calamitie hanged ouer the state of the Iewes, and the common people, whose eyes were wholly bent vpon them, who esteemed them as menne of God, were nothing the better for them, but continued still in as much wickednes, as they did before: doubtlesse it was euident, that those menne were false Prophets and craftie crowders, and that they did poison suche, as they tooke vpō them to instruct, with pestilent errours.

The lyke might be said of the tyme of Christe and his Apostles. There were Priestes, and Pharisees, and Saducees, and Herodians, all contrarie to the Doctrine of Christe. Suche, as folowed Christe, and applied them selues with al diligence to learne his do-

doctrine, withstood synne, and were inflamed with the desire of godlinesse and vertue: but suche as folowed the Priestes of that time, and the Pharisees, were disteined with many foule vices. By this token therfore it might be perceiued, that Christ wrought by the holy ghost, and spake the worde of God: and that the Priestes and Pharisees tooke a pride vpon their owne conceite which proceded of an vnserled and vndiscrete mind.

We may say the like of the Apostles, who had much a do with false Priestes and Philosophers, whiche were forwardly bent against the truth. For such as herkened vnto the Apostles, were beautifullly furnished with the ornaments of true vertue: but such as went vnto the contrary part, were clogged with most heinouse vices. Any man therefore, that was in his right wittes, might well perceiue by the testimonie of Hieremie, that the Apostles

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were sent from God: and that their aduersaries were moued and stirred forward by the enemye the diuel.

That this is the meaning of the Prophete, al men, which are not obstinately set in their owne mad and frantike opinion, may see very plainely. For otherwise the wisdom of God, which spake in the holy Prophete, should speake against it selfe: the which thing if a man should but once conceiue it in his heart, it were a moste wicked synne, and horrible offence. Wee may nowe applie it vnto these newe Prophetes.

There was a certayne woorshipfull Prophete, whom you thinke vndoubtedly to haue ben sent from heauen. Many men went after him, and commended him highly, and garded him both with their bodies and armes, and furnished him with their gooddes. I will therefore demaund not of al, but of such onely, as did not onely loue

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Luther as a bowntifull and helping man, but also esteemed and reuerenced him as a Prophet sent from heauē, and receiued his doctrine most willingly both with eares and heartes: whether they were foorthwith chaūged in hert, and whether they became any thing the better for it. No, they were rather made by the hearīg of him much more p̄sumptuous and proud, much more incontinent and seditious, much more dispiteful and outragious, yea so farre foorth, that Luther himself, which had schooled them, was not able to kepe them in order. That therefore might haue ben a full prooffe, that Luther stooode neuer in the counsell of God. For if he had stooode in the counsell of our Lord, and had declared the verie wordes of God vnto such as followed him and were named after him, dowbtles there should haue ben seene some wonderfull alteration of life in them.

The



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The like maie be saied of Melancthon, Zwinglius, Bucer, and Caluine, and other the like Prophets. For these men were none such, as might by good example of their cōtinent and honest conuersation asswage the heate of incōtinency in those that folowed them: but rather out of their schooles proceeded verie often vicious and incōtinent men: yea and not only incōtinent, but also violēt churchrobbers, destroyers of good lawes, wily practisers of treason against princes, felowes mischieuously bent to deface al places of holines and deuotion by manslaughter, bloudshed and fier. Wherefore the teachers of this doctrine were not sent from God: for if they had ben sent from God, doubtles they had tourned those men, that honoured them as goddes, from their wicked life.

Moreouer, for so much as there is no disagreement in the spirite of God, if they had ben sent from God, there must

must needes haue ben a most perfecte  
cōsent and agreement emōgest them.  
But the world knoweth, that there is a  
most bitter dissension emongest them:  
wherfore it foloweth necessarily, that  
they were not moued by the instincte  
and inspiration of the holie ghost, but  
driuen with burning fyer brandes of  
the findes of hell, and that they ap-  
plied them selues, not to instruct men,  
but to ouerthrow them.

You saie, that there is a meruelous  
goodlie agreement emongest you. I  
speake not of you as now. For it  
maie be, that you maie by feare of  
pounishmente staie for a lytle time  
the furie of raging felowes, ( the  
whiche remedie, when the minde  
is not well settled, can not endure  
longe. ) But of others, see you not,  
howe great dissension there is emon-  
gest them, that sprange of Luther ?  
See you not, howe they fall out a-  
bout woordes ? How they alter and  
chaunge

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change their opinions? Howe confusely, doubtfully, and intricately they speake? With what fond reasons they labour in vaine to prooue that thing, which they are bent to mainteine: in so much that they can neither agree with other men, neither yet within them selues? They choppe and chaunge their Creedes, they affirme now one thing and now an other, they are established in no ~~one~~ opinion. They can neuer agree within them selues, to whome they maie referre the determination of dowbtes.

You referre the matter to your parliament (as you terme it): or els to your babling Bucerans, as the Bishoppe of Angra not vnfitly termeth them. Diuers men referre the decision of questions in religion to diuers Confessions of the faith, which are wont now and then to be altered and chaunged. Thinke you, M Haddon, if, as I doe now reason with you in writing, so I  
might

mighte be presente wyth you, and presse you with wordes, and wind you to and fro by the force of argumentes, that you were able to stande to your tackelinges? No without dowbt. But you woulde deuise a hundred diuers shiftes of descant to face out the matter, and seeke out all the starting holes and blind corners in the world: in such sort, that it might easily appeare, that neither your tongue, neither yet your wit were in perfecte good plight.

Howbeit one poore shifte you would finde, (which is a singular good helpe to you in all your distresses) that is, to brawle, chide, schold and reuile. You saie afterward.

*That you maie acknowledge the authoritie of this Church, if you dowbt of it, I referre you to the Apologie. I know you haue writen an Apologie, wherwith you labour to set out your Church meruelously. If you haue writen it more wittily and finely, then this booke,*

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booke, which you set out against me, surely you haue done me great wrōg. For you made light of me, and therefore did not vouchesafe to put out the vttermoſt ſtrength of your eloquence, when you encountered with me. If you vſe the like ſtile and the like argumentes, that is to ſaie, if you contend with the like arrogancie and reprochful language: I haue not ſo much time to ſpare, that I wil deſire to take it once in my handes. For you define nothing, you ſpeake nothing ſincerelie, you conclude nothing by good argument. You ſaie at the length.

*Confute it if you can. But you can not.* That was verie arrogantly ſpoken. Who hath made you ſo loſtie and high ſprited? Your eloquence? Or elles the loue of the truthe? If you truſte to your eloquence, you are a very babe. If you beare your ſelfe vppon the truth, you imagine manie thinges.

things to be true, that are not.

You saie, that one hath barked againste your Apologie. I haue not reade it, and yet I knowe, that your Apologie, whiche, you saie, can not possiblie be confuted, is alreadie excellentlie well confuted, by a manne of muche grauitie, godlines, and learninge. which thing you denie.

But this lesson haue you learned of your maisters: who beinge openlye conuincied, fall a crying, being sette a gogge, kepe a raging stirre: and when they are able to saie nothing to the grownde of the matter, they heape together manie woordes without order and besides the pourpose, and yet they vaunte them selues emongest their adherentes beyond all measure and modestie. But I regard not your brauerie and lustines, I esteeme not your haughtie and prowde vauntes: I weye the truthe, reason and argumentes. And suche is the noblenes of this

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this your Ilād, the glorie and renoume  
of your kingdome so bright, that nei-  
ther can anie vice lie hidden in it, nei-  
ther yet anie vertue vnknownen.

Wherefore you labour but in vaine to  
conceale that thing, whiche is euerie  
where cōstantly reported. What you  
say touching the immortality of foules,  
I wote not. I neuer saied, that your  
maisters denied the immortalitie of  
fowles. Howbeit I am not ignorant,  
by what degrees or steppes men are  
wont to clymme vp vnto the highest  
point of that most detestable opinion.

Whereas you saie, that there hath  
ben manie men emongest you, which  
haue confirmed the truth of the gospel  
by banishment, nakednes, hungre, yea  
by theading their bloud and yealding  
their liues: I graunt it. For so did the  
Bishop of Rochester, so did Moore, so  
did the holy Carthusians (to passe ouer  
a numbred of others) these men died a  
most honourable death for the glorie

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of Christ. So doe your holy Bishops, who you haue defeated of their goods deprived of their dignities, and cast into prisons. So do we see many others, Bishops, Priests and Monks, very godlie and Religious persons, driven out of England and Ireland, living like banished men and outcastes: the which, if they had not ben able to escape out of your clammes, had peradventure ben put to a most cruel death, by the ministers of this your Gospel.

If you meane any other of your men, heare what S. Cyprian saith: that, such as being without the bowndes of the Church, doe suffer death for the glory of Christe, they doe not receiue the Crowne of Martyrdome, but beare the punishment for their vnbeleefe. If thei therefore, that breake vp the inclosure of the Church, and seperate themselves from it, although they yeld their bloude and liues for the Religion of Christ, which the Church holdeth, are

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not



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not to be accounted as Martyrs, but as naughty packes and Church robbers: what is to be thought of such, as being without the Church, are not ashamed to spil their bloud and liues in the maintenance of rebellion and vngodlines?

I am nowe come to that place, whiche is by you, ( who are a man naturally abhorring the sleightie occupation of flatterie and lying ) verie clerkely handled. Your woordes are these.

*You confesse that you haue gone further in the matter, then you had thought to doe. Truth it is, that you haue gon a great deale further, then it became you to doe: especiallie in the most learned and prudent cares of the Quenes Maiestie, whose sharpe witte and iudgement you woulde haue ben afraid of, if you had wel weighed with your selfe, how much pittihinesse there is in her. O right excellent Syr Waulter, you appeare nowe in your owne likenes. Tel me, I pray you, doe*  
you

you not see, that excessiue praylinge doth not aduaunce the dignity of Princes, but rather vtterlie peruerter their minde and iudgement oftentimes? Do you not know, that the most fine and sharp wit, loueth truth, and abhorreth exceedingly all lying and flatterie? For what other thing is it to praise Princes excessiue, but to set them out to the world as mocking stocks? Truly if your Quene be so witty, as I may wel think shee is, not by your talke, but by the reporte of other men, she will tourne you out of her courte and companie as an open and detected flatterer, and wil not suffer her selfe to be most impudently mocked of you.

If you set out her wit, if you commend her knowledge in the Latine and Greeke tongue, if you praise her courtlie grace and comelines of speach, it is well donne. But when you make her no meane Diuine, when you aduaunce her witte so muche,

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as though I ought to be terrible afraid of it, you assault her Maiestie by verie wilie and craftie meanes. Is this your loialtie? Is this the part of a kind hert, mindefull of the benefites bestowed vppon you? Is this well done, that a most noble Quene, a Princeesse endued with most excellent wit and singular qualities, should be gibed and scorned of you, M. Haddon, who haue, as you saie your selfe, ben fostred and brought vp by her Maiesty? Did you so little esteeme her iudgemente, that you thought her meete to make your laughing stocke? To pull her downe from the serled staye of her minde by your clawing and flatterie? To deceiue her for your gaine and lukers sake?

If, when you sette for this bootie, you had made your entrie more couerthye, your fowle flatterie needed not to haue benno repelled with so greate inforcemente. For a manne  
might

mighte haue thoughte, that you had  
misdowbted the sharpenesse of the  
Queenes witte, and therfore hadde  
deuised to vndermine secretelie, that  
you might the better haue scaled the  
forte, whiche you haue desired to  
take.

But now, wheras you mock so opely,  
ascribīg vnto her maiesty, such cōmen-  
dable qualities, as can not possibly stād,  
neither with her age, neither with her  
nature, as being a woman, neither with  
her tender and delicate bodie, neither  
yet with her estate, ( which is other-  
wise employed to weightie and care-  
full affaires ) : is it not manifestte, that  
you make lighte of her witte? Doe  
you so recōpence the benefits which  
you haue receiued of her bountifull-  
nesse? If shee be so wise as you make  
her to be, if shee haue so many excel-  
lente vertues, as I desire her Maie-  
stie to be alwayes decked and bewtri-  
fied withall : the moderate praises,

H H iij

which

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whiche I geaue her, shee wil accepte with good hearte; but that immoderate flatterie of yours shee will refuse and reiecte: neyther will shee suffer her selfe to be mocked of suche presumptuous felowes to the greate abatemente of her estimation and honour.

As towching the quietnesse of thinges, whiche you talke of at large, I saie this muche. It is the parte of a madde man, yea of one, that is ignorant of the common frailtie of man, to trust to much in prosperitie, and not to cast long time before by causes passed, such aduersities, as peraduenture hange ouer his heade. Moreouer, there canne be no quietnesse, where the faithe of the holie Church is shut out. For the minde is troubled, yea and oftentimes shaken quite out of the henges, by the remorse of synne, the which the most presumptuous and bolde felowes in the worlde are not  
able

able to suppress, ( although many are  
able to dissemble it).

As for the comparison of your  
Church with the Primitiue Church,  
which you saie may be confirmed by  
the Histories, I saie that, either you  
haue not read the Histories, or els you  
are past all shame. You shoulde haue  
brought some example or testimonie  
out of the Histories, with the whiche  
you might ouercharge vs. But you  
can neuer doe it, forsomuch as all the  
antiquitie maketh against you.

Whereas you saie, that your nobi-  
litie is verie well agreed, would God  
it were so: but it is otherwise repor-  
ted commonlye. I passe ouer manie  
thinges of purpose, partly bicause they  
are nothing to the purpose, and partly  
because they are alreadie confuted be-  
fore. But wheras you saie these words:  
*Ah be not disquieted gentle Syr: I ac-*  
*knowledge your pleasaunt manner of*  
*speech. As for your heauenly kindred,*

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of the whiche you saie, you are verie desirouse : you doe well in it. But I woulde you had some other menne of this stocke and kinred, more skilful interpretours of the law of God. Then how wittilie was that spoken of you?

*Wherefore saie you, that menne haue benne caried awaie by vs from that most aunciente and holie Religion, whiche was grownded vpon the bloude of Iesus Christe, and hath continued alwayes one euen untill our daies, and that they haue benne trained in another Religion, which is moste cursed and detestable?*

Then you adde, Doe you beleue these things, as you haue spoken them? No truely doe you not. These things were very merrily spoken of you, M. Had- don. Doubtlesse your pleasant gyrdes procede of amercelous wit: especially when yon thinke your self to be cocke sure. For then, as though your discourse had escaped the rockes, you pleasure very much to sport and dalie.

But

But whereas you saie, that I doe not beleue those thinges whiche I haue saied, you are fowly deceiued. For I doe bothe beleue and confesse them, neither shal the outrage and vnbrideled wilfulnesse of a sort of rascall varlers euer bring me from the cōstant confession of my faith. What argumentes of yours thinke you, to be of such force, that thei might cause a mā, which is in his right wittes, not to beleue that, that is confirmed by the testimonie of holie Scriptures, by authoritie of the holie Fathers, by the recordes of al the antiquitie? You saie, afterward.

*For in the olde and beste time of the Church, neither was their any Popedom, neither leaden redemption for synne, neither the marte of Purgatorie, neither worshippinge of Images, neither runninge vppe and downe to visite Sainctes, neither offering in the Masses for the liue and for the dead, with other like.*

*These*



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*These shamefull pointes, Whiche dooe dishonest Religion, at what times they crope in, and by Whome they were denied, you are not ignoraunte. But you dissemble it, to serue the cares of your companie.*

Belke out M. Haddon, streine your selfe, as muche as you can, ridde your stomake of this surfeicte, of most barbarouse furie and rage: cast vppe your poison, spewe out your venime: and then shall you openly triumph eimongest your companions with this peeuish and vaine talke. When you haue said nothing, prooued nothing, alleaged no true testimonie of the antiquitie: when you haue broughte nothing elles but railinge for argument, madnesse for reason, impudencie for true exaamples: you keepe such a raginge stirre, as though you hadde alreadie wonne the fiede with greate honour.

But we on the other side are wont  
to

to declare, by authoritie of the holie Scriptures, by testimonies of the holy Fathers, by fetching the Monumentes and Recordes of al the Antiquitie, finally by reason, by vse, by experience, by a number of examples, that thys kinde of gouernement hath allwaies bene in the Church: and that, who so euer goeth about to appaire it, is a breaker of peace, an ouerthrower of Religion, a woorker of sedition, a puller downe of the Church, whiche is one, and a setter vp of diuers and sundrie churches, diuersly sundered and diuided within them selues, a bringer in of infinite most filthie vices, and troublesome errors.

As for the matt of Purgatorie, which you speake of, we answere you, that there is no such thing. If at any time in so many hundred yeares ther hath ben any bying and selling of holie thinges vsed, the holie Church alloweth it not, but banisheth it out of the bounds of the

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of the Christian common weale, as a most pestilent and pernicious abuse.

Likewise of Images, we say, that al we, that liue in the holy catholik faith, are able to prooue both by reasons, argumentes, and examples, that euen frō the primitiue church, (especially after it might be done for tyrannes) there hath ben Images set vp in churches, to the euerlasting remembraunce of vertue, to moue men to godlines and religion, to the glorie and honour of Christe, the whiche is seene in the wonderfull vertue of holie men. We saie moreouer that the error of those men, that threw downe Images, was condemned by manie authorities of the holy Fathers, by diuers decrees of generall councils: the whiche thing your maisters, be they neuer so shameles, can not denie, vnlesse they wil first burne al the writings of holie fathers, al histories and records, all the decrees of general Councils.

What

What shoulde I here reason of the reuerence and honour, which was of old time geauen vnto sainctes? Could you neuer spare a litle time from the fine woorkes of Accursius, to bestow in the reading of Gregorie Nazianzene, Basile the Greate, Hierome and Ambrose? If you coulde doe it, you shoulde see it in their bookes, howe many times godlie personnes came together in the olde time, what resortes and assemblies there were made, what eloquent Orations were pronounced in the commendation of Sainctes, how greate multitude of the common people pressed thither to heare them. But now, if I woulde shewe you, with what seruente zeale and deuotion verie many men were wont to continue all night at the Tombes of Martyrs, it were a hard matter to expresse it.

None of al the holy Bishops in those daies, did once put backe the common people from hearing the cōmendation  
of

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of Martyrs: no man dissuaded them from that moste earnest deuotion towards the Saintes: no, they did rather exhort al such as were present, to visit their Monumentes, to praise and honour them, to obserue and keepe such woorshippe, as was dew vnto them. For they sawe in those assemblies, when the name of Martyrs was sette out with heauenlie prayses, that not the nature of the bodie, but the grace of God, and the almightie power of Christe him selfe was dewlie honoured in them. For if the Christian menne in those daies kept the signes of the holie Crosse, and the Images of Saintes, whiche were of deuotion sette vppe in Churches, with such reuerence: if they were ostentimes put in minde by those signes to plucke vppe their heartes, and to remember the vertue whiche those domine Images did represente: was it not muche more conuenient, that the liuely Ima-

ges

ges of Christe shoulde be honoured with greater seruencie, and that all suche as serued God truely and heartilie, (to doe this honour the better) should visite the Tombes of Martyrs, and Churches builded in the honour of them? And is it not euidently sene, that the Sainctes are by the operation of the holy Ghost shapen to the likenes of God, and that they beare a very true and expresse Image of Christ?

As touching your pastime that you make with Purgatorie (for you must needes haue a snatche at euery thing) can there be broughte any grauer testimonie against you, then that, which the manne, that was sent (as you saie) from heauen, hath geuen openlie? Who is that saye you? It is that Luther, whome you honoure and reuerence, whome you make a God, whome you affirme to haue ben borne for youre saluation. Hee sayed more then once or twise, and abidde by

Purgatory  
proved by  
Luther.

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by it, that there was a Purgatorie, and that he did not weene, thinke, or beleue it, but certainly knowe it to be so. For proufe whereof, he constantlie alleaged that place of S. Mathew, where Christe said, that the synne of suche, as did wilfully resist the testimonie of the holie Ghoste, shoulde neuer be forgeauen, neither in this worlde, neither yet in the worlde to come: by the which wordes it is signified, that some hope of forgeuenes is mercifully shewed by God vnto many men euen in the worlde to come.

*2. Macab.*  
*12. g.*

He alleged also that place out of the Machabees, where Iudas made oblations for the synnes of such as were departed. With these and other the like argumēts and allegatiōs he was earnest to proue that there was a Purgatorie.

How then? If Luther saied there was a Purgatorie, and you will warrant it, that Luther was sent from God: and, if he were sent from God, so long

as he was in that embassage, he coulde not lie : it is manifestly prooued by his authoritie, ( the whiche you maie not gainsaie ) that there is a purgatorie. If there be no purgatorie, Luther lied. If Luther lied, he was not sent from God, but from him, that is the father of lying. Choose therefore whether you like better. For either the authoritie of Luther shal cōfirme, that there is a purgatorie, or els the feined tale of purgatorie, (as you terme it) shall conuince Luther of vanitie and madnes.

But he afterward denied purgatorie. That is no wonder. For not only he, but all his offspring saie nowe one thing, and now an other: they correct and alter manie thinges, neither can they staie them selues in anie one degree, but rather when they haue once begonne an errour, they heape and increase it with a numbre of other errors.

But I would faine learne of you M.

II

Haddons



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Haddon: whether of these two opinions, whiche are maintained both by Luther, think you to be the truer? The later, saie you. Well then the former he receiued not of God. Then was he not as yet sent from God. But after he had disteined him selfe with incestuous wedlocke, after he had allured his contrei men to rebellion, after he had defied chastitie and all holines, after he had stirred vp such broile and sedition in the common weale, that he coulde not appease it him selfe afterward, when he had railed against the state of the church with most reprochfull and shamefull language, when he had vttered most horrible and diuelish blasphemie, when he had wasted, spoiled, and burned all holie thinges, when he had committed all these outrages and villanies: then was he thought a meete man to be taken into gods pricuiue counsell, and a persone woorthie, to whome God, besides all other secretes

cretes, shoulde mercifully reuele that mysterie also of the deuising of purgatorie. Then did this great wise man vnderstand at the length, that S. Augustine, which held that we should praie vnto God in our Sacrifices for the dead: that S. Cyprian, which laied this most grieuous punishment vpon such, as appointed Priestes in their testamēt to be tutours or gouernours to their children, that there should no sacrifice be offred vp for them in the churches: that S. Chrysostome, whiche referred this ordinaunce to the tradition of the Apostles: that S. Denise (to passe ouer a numbre of others) which wrote verry diligently of the care, that is to be had for the departed in the faith, and of praiers, that are to be made vnto God for their deliuerance: Luther, I saie, vnderstood, from heauen that al these men had ben in great errour and folie.

Trulie the capitaine of this your faction had a great commoditie of his

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naughtines and folie , if , after the reising of such broiles and troubles in the worlde , he was deliuered by the benefite of God from that error , in the which those holie Fathers, most Godlie and wise men, excellently wel learned in the Scriptures , linked vnto Christe with a most streight band of heauenlie loue were quite drowned.

If no man can thus perswade him selfe, vnlesse he be peeuish, frantike and starke mad , void not only of al godlie religion , but also of common sense : who doth not see that this opinion of Luther is wicked and detestable, taught and set out by none other, then by the enemie the diuell.

But this, saie you, is not witten in the scripture. What then ? The thing, which the Apostles taught by word of mowth , which their schollers deliuered to the posteritie, whiche hath ben most constantly holden and beleueed from the primitiue Church till our times,

times, whiche hath ben approued by the beleefe and full agreement of the whole Church for so manie hundred yeares, shall Luther a seditious mad felowe, after so manie ages garishly auowch it to be a feined matter? Shall men, whiche take vpon them to be both Godlie and religious, folow him as a God of heauen, that attempteth most desperatly to assault heauen? For he maketh warre against heauē, which taketh vp armour against the faith of the Church.

*No, no, saie you, you would not thinke, what manner of man he was. For he, I tel you, would allowe nothing, unlesse he fownde it written in the holie scriptures.* Well sir, I will not now handle that matter, whiche is by the holy Fathers discuffed long agoe: howe the gospell consisteth not only in thinges written, but also in customes and ordinaunces receiued without any writing, deliuered vnto the Church by

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*1. Tim. 3. c.* worde of mowth and order of the Apostles: how much the sure and grounded authoritie of the Church, which is the pillar and staie of truth, is to be esteemed: of howe great value and importaunce the agreement of all holie men in one minde without anie varietie ought to be: all these things I will nowe omit, and aske you one question, how Luther, when he saied there was a purgatorie, to prooue it, alleaged the testimonies of the holie scripture, if there were no testimonie in the scripture, that proued that there was a purgatorie?

Then againe when he saied, that there was no Purgatorie, by what testimonie of the Scripture thought he, that Purgatorie might be vtterly disprooued? Brought he anie one place, by the whiche he might conuince that there is no Purgatorie? Dowbtlesse not one. Such therefore was his presumption, that, what so

euer

uer came into his head, that woulde  
he constantly affirme: and againe, the  
selfe same thing, if it misliked him,  
would he vtterly denie.

And yet his disciples for sooth find  
no fault at all, neither with his incon-  
stancie, neither yet with his lewd fas-  
shions: but what so euer the drowisie  
blowbol draueled out ouer his pottes,  
that toke they vp so griedily, as though  
it had ben good gospel.

But lest you should saie, that it can  
not be shewed by the testimonie of  
the scripture, that there is a purgatory,  
although it be not necessarie, yet, be-  
sides those places, whiche are wont  
to be alleaged for the prooffe thereof,  
I thinke it good to bring a fewe: of  
the whiche that is one of S. Marke:  
where our Lorde, when he had saied,  
that hel (into the which al such shalbe  
throwen downe, as esteeme more  
their bodilie pleasure, then their dew-  
tie towards God) shoulde haue this

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pro-

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*Marc. 9. g*

*Esaie. 66. a*

propertie, that the worme of them, that shall be tumbled down headlong into it, should neuer die, and their fyer neuer be quenched: he brought in foorthwith these wordes: for euerie man shalbe seasoned in fyer, and euerie sacrifice shalbe seasoned in salt. In this place there are two thinges to be noted. One is, that there is a worme, that is to saie, a vexation or torment of conscience gnawing and molesting the minde, the whiche shal haue an ende: and that there is a torment of fyer also, the whiche in like manner shall haue an end in some men. For otherwise our Lorde woulde neuer haue brought that place out of Esaie: their worme dieth not, and their fyer is not quenched. By the whiche place we are taught, that there is one torment euerlasting, and an other that lasteth but for a time. For so much therefore as this worme and fyer is a torment or vexation of minde, and of

tormentes

tormentes there is one, whiche is appointed by the iudgement of God to last but a time, and the other to continue for euermore: is it not euidently prooued, that there is a purgatorie? (for so is the place of punishment called, in the whiche by the sentence of God the sowles are purged within a certaine time of suche spottes of venial offences, as they had gathered in this life.)

An other thing worthy to be noted is this, that no synne shal escape unpunished. For euen as in the old lawe it was not lawfull to offre vp any Sacrifice without salt, so is it not lawfull for our soules to approach vnto the throne of Gods maiestie, vnlesse their vncleanes be before clenfed by salt and fyer, that is to say, by the rigour of Goddes iudgement, and by dewe punishment: that, when al the spottes of vncleane affection be put out and quite consumed, the faithful sowles may come to haue



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haue such a puritie and cleerenes, that they may be able to receiue the brightness of God in them selues, and belikened and consourmed to the glory of God. For although by the mercy of God synne is taken quite away in such as stay them selues vppon a liuelie faith, yet are they for the most parte so bounde with some knot of the law, that they must needes satisfie the iustice of God. For almightie God is mercifull, but so, that he is not vnmindfull of his iustice: he is also iust, but in suche sorte, that in the ministring of his seuerer iudgement he sheweth manie pointes of great mercie.

Moreouer this puritie or cleannes, which is gotten by the grace and benefite of Christ, hath certaine degrees, so, that he that is cleane, may be yet cleaner, and come vnto a cleerer knowledge of the nature of God. And the encrease of this cleannes consisteth

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steth in salt and fyre, that is to say, in  
 such pounishment, as is appointed to  
 pourge the remnantes of synne: that  
 the Sacrifice may be purer and holier  
 and more acceptable to God. Where-  
 fore it is necessarie, that the Sacrifice,  
 whiche is to be offered vppe vnto  
 God with suche rites and orders, as  
 are appointed by Christe our high  
 Priest, be first cleansed, yea and per-  
 fectely well poured, by laying on  
 some pounishment vppon synne, ei-  
 ther in this lyfe, or elles in the lyfe to  
 come. For euen as God, when he  
 pardoned Dauid, quited him not of all  
 punishment, (for he lost afterward his  
 sonne, and was chased out of his king-  
 dome by the heynouse treason of his  
 sonne Absolon, and his howse was  
 dishonoured in the face of the world)  
 in lyke sorte, although God forgea-  
 ueth synnes, yet, that notwithstan-  
 dinge, hee wyll require some pe-  
 naunce, that there maye be made a  
 satisf-

2. Reg. 12.  
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*note*  
satisfaction or amendes for the offence committed. The which satisfaction resteth not in the weight or estimation of it selfe, but in the infinite merite of Christ. For otherwise there should be no end of punishment, for so muche as the offence was endles: in so much as the maiestie of God was offended; (which is endles.)

*1. Pet. 4. d*  
Vnto this penaunce, which is to be abiden of al such, as haue not thoroughly poured the vncleannes of their sinnes in this life by dew labours, looked S. Peter, when he said, that the iust should hardly be saued, wherefore the wicked were farre from that, that they could assure them selues of saluation. That there is a most certaine hope of saluation offered vnto the iust, he denieth not: but that it is geuen, vnlesse they take great paines and trauaile before, that he denieth vtterly.

S. Peter againe in the selfe same epistle, to teach vs, that the entraunce  
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unto saluation is not shut vppe to the  
dead, faith, that Christe preached the  
gospell to those sowles, that were in  
custodie or ward. He saith not, that  
Christ going downe to hel declared  
that ioyfull and glad tydings to the  
holy Fathers onely; but also to menne  
which were committed to ward, that  
is to say, to men which were shut vp  
in prison for offences committed. And  
lest it might be thought, that those me,  
whome Christ at that time instructed  
with a more cleere and exacte know-  
ledge, had ben before vtterly voide of  
faith, he added: Such as had ben some  
time vnbeleeuing. And againe lest  
some man might suspect, that that sen-  
tence had ben spoken by them, the  
which, although they had sometime  
comitted some offences, yet had spent  
the greatest part of their life in faith  
and religion, he saith: that the gospel,  
that is to say, the tidings of euerlasting  
saluation was brought to them, which  
in the

*1. Pet. 3. d**Ibidem.*

### THE THIRD

in the daies of Noe made light of the counsel and aduertisement of the holy man : the whiche notwithstanding, (before thei were cōsumed in the flud) were better aduised, and gat pardon of their synnes and offences : but yet so, that for their long offence, they suffred in hell a long penaunce. Out of the which place it is gathered by the autoritie of S. Peter, that such, as repent them selues in lyke māner of their vncleane and synful liuing in the ende of their life, and depart out of this bodie with a burning faith, shal after the same fasshion be kepte in prison, vntil they haue suffred suche punishment as God hath appointed, and vntil being more cleerely instructed in the thinges apperteyning to God, (in the whiche instruction and receiuing of the light stādeth, as S. Denyse saith, the somme of the purgation) they may be caried vp into those ioyfull dwelling places of heauen.

S. Paule

S. Paule also writing to the Corinthians, saith. What shal they do, which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Wherefore are they baptized for them? To be baptized in this place, is to offer vppe him selfe as a satisfactorie or pouring Sacrifice to washe and clense the spottes of sowles. Wherevpon our Lorde him selfe shewed, that he was very sore pained with the earnest desire that he had of baptisme, that is to say, of that most wholesome washing, wherein he should offer vp him selfe a Sacrifice vpon the Altar of the Crosse for the synnes of mankind. And of the two brethren, whiche sought to haue the highest roome with him in his kingdom, he demaündeth, whether they be ready to beare him cōpanie in the same baptisme. To be baptized therefore for the dead is nothing els, but to honour God with some pouring Sacrifice or offering for the saluation of the dead,  
and

1. Cor. 15.  
d.

LUC. 22. 6

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and to offer vp with good heart euen the Sacrifice of our body for their saluation.

*2. Cor. 15.*  
*d.* The which thing S. Paule did, as it appeereth, not only for the dead, but also for the liuing. For immediatly after he saith thus. Wherefore doe we also put our selues in ieoperdie euerie day? I doe die dayly for your glorie, which I haue in our Lord Iesus Christ. By the whiche place it may be gathered, that S. Paule, so often as he aduentured his life for the state of the holy Church, so often did he administer the Sacrament and Sacrifice of this baptisme: the whiche thing he did then most worthely, when he died a moste honorable death for the glory of Christ and saluation of al men. For he sayde, that he was to be offered vp as a Sacrifice, at that tyme especially, when death, by the which he should be deliuered out of the prison of his bodie, approached neere. By the which place

*2. Tim. 4.*  
*b.*

it is

it is evidently prooued, that many o-  
ther also haue offred vp most holy Sa-  
crifices for the dead, that is to say, for  
the saluation of the deade. The which  
thing if it were alwayes done in vaine,  
then might it be concluded, that such,  
as are deade, should neuer returne a-  
gaine to liue.

But now, for so much as it was not  
done in vaine, (for otherwise S. Paule  
would neuer haue borne withal) it fo-  
loweth necessarily, that prayers made  
for the saluation of the dead are not  
superfluous, and that the sowles of  
such, as are departed this lyfe, are hol-  
pen by the prayers, vowes, and Sa-  
crifices of the lyuing. The which  
sowles so departed, for so much as thei  
are neither buried in euerlasting dark-  
nesse ( for then could they not get out  
by any mans prayers ) neither yet pla-  
ced in heauen ( for there should they  
not neede any mans prayers ) it fol-  
loweth, that they be in some other  
K K place,



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place, which we are wont to call purgatorie.

Many other things might be spoken to this purpose. Many things haue ben verie well alleaged of diuers godly and holy men to confirme this matter: but if there had ben no such thing, yet the faith of the holie Church, which hath alwaies continewed vndefiled euen from the Apostles tyme till our daies, might haue suffised vs abundantly. But you, when you see most euident testimonies, when you are not able to shift our argumentes, when you are conuincied by the autoritie of the holy Fathers, when you may see the agreement of the whole Church, yet wil you of an vncredible stubbornesse continewe in the wicked opinion, which you haue once taken.

What shal I here say of prayers and vowes made in Sacrifice for the liue and

and the dead? Is there any tyme, in the which it is not lawful for Christiā men to vse charitie, the perfection of whose Religion resteth in charitie? Can there be deuised any greater deede of charitie then that, wherein we praie vnto God most feruently for the saluation of our brethern? Is there any tyme more meete and conueniēt to doe this holy woorke, then that is, when we goe about to appease the maiestie of God, not with the Sacrifice of brute beastes, but with the bodie and bloude of Christe? Is there any thing more agreable to the ordre of our Religion, which doe beleene, that suche as departe out of this mortall bodie with true faith, doe not die, but lyue, then to ioyne them with suche, as remayne in this lyfe: and to praye vnto Christe, which was offered vppe for vs, both for the lyuing, as also for them, that are departed out of this life?

### THE THIRD

Cal you this godlie point of Religion, this holy worke of most seruent charitie, this wholesome Sacrifice offered vppe not onely for vs, but also for our brethern, vnto whome wee are knit with an euerlasting bande of loue, call you this, I say, the dishonestie of Religion? Is this no outrage? Is this no madnesse? Is this no impudencie?

To refuse lawefull authoritie, to breake the aunciēt ordre of the Church, to deflowre holy virgins, to robbe good matrones of their chastitie, to cancell the verie remembraunce of of vertue, Religio, and iustice, to quēch the loue of honestie and gentlenes, to prophane and robbe Churches, to take holy men, and some to murder, some to spoile and put to all the villanie in the worlde, some others to bannishe out of their countrey, to awrecke the malice your beare towards godlines vpon the relikes of Sainctes, to

vaunt

vaunt your selues like helhoundes in  
the waste and sacke of holy thinges,  
shal this be accompted as honest and  
gloriouse, shall this be esteemed as a  
matter worthie of immortal commen-  
dation and praise? And to be bound to  
obeie authoritie grounded vppon the  
commaundement and ordinaunce of  
Christ, to conserue the band of peace  
and concord, to honour and reuerence  
the iustice and mercie of God ioyned  
together in one, to cal to remembrâce  
the goodly monumentes of holines, to  
offer vp that most holy and noble Sa-  
crifice (the vertue whereof we cā nei-  
ther expresse with woordes, neither  
yet conceyue in heart) for the liuing  
and the dead, and for the good estate  
of the whole Christian cōmon weale:  
shal this be such a dishonestie as may  
not be borne? And yet you are not  
afraied to cal al these thinges the dis-  
honour of Religion, and to say, that  
I am not ignorant, by whome these

K K iij things

### THE THIRD

things are copen in, but that I dis-  
semble it to serue the eares of my  
compagnions.

Of lyke, Sir, all these things,  
whiche you mislike, and call the dis-  
honestie of Religion, were deuised  
and brought in, by brothels and baw-  
des, or elles by suche felowes, as serue  
the bellie, luste, or vnstedfastnesse of  
the people for their commodities sake,  
and not by the spirite of Christe, and  
by most continent and holy menne, in  
whome was the spirite of Christe.  
But you are neuer able to prooue that  
you say. For both reason and the te-  
stimonie of all antiquitie, as also the  
authoritie of holy Fathers doe vrge  
and presse you, yea and conuince  
you of impudencie: but wee haue  
putte backe the violent pousse of  
this your vngodlynnesse and malice,  
with argumentes most sure, with te-  
stimonies most graue, with examples  
most true.

Where-

Whereas you say, that I speake otherwise then I thinke, to serue the eares of my companions, I see well, you are wel acquainted with my behauiour. I am lyke to be suche a man, as would spend my tyme with all diligence to learne to flatter, and to write, not what I thinke, but what I imagine may be best liked of my companions. I besech Christe the iudge of the liuing and of the dead, it I write not, in matters concerning Religion, those thinges which I thinke, whiche I iudge to be true, whiche I beleue assuredly, that he suffer me not to enter into that most gloriousse and euerlasting Citie of heauen, and that he let me not to haue the ioyfull fruition of his owne light and brightness for euermore.

For what is the Popedome els, but a ministracion of an authoritie, which is lawefull and ordeyned by God? What is our beleefe of Purgatorie,

KK iiii but

but a declaration of Gods iustice and mercie together? What is the honour geuen vnto Sainctes, but a reuerent consideration of the worke of God, in the which appeereth the almighty power and bountifulnes of God muche more, then in the making of heauen, yea or in al the works of nature. What are the praiers made in our Sacrifice for the liuing and the dead, but a work of moſte perfecte holineſſe, of moſte excellent Religion, of moſte ſeruent charitie?

These be diſhoneſt points, which you haue take away. There is good cauſe, why you ſhould glorie in it, and haue your name recorded with honor to al the poſterity. for you haue brought in, for obeying of holy and lawfull authoritie, rebellion: for the feare of purgatorie, a raſh aſſaunce of licentiousneſſe unpouنيſhed: for dewe wooſhipping of Sainctes, the contempte of holineſſe and iuſtice: for the religious obſer-

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seruation of the most holie sacrifice,  
and charitable behauour of men, a  
despising of religion and forgetting of  
charitie: yea moreouer and this, you  
haue brought in a scornfull laughter  
exceding al modestie, together with a  
sawcie talke passing all ciuilitie. Are  
these things comelie, M. Haddon?  
Are these things honourable? Are  
these things to be commended? Are  
these things to make a shewe of?

But you saie, that the Bishoppes of  
Rome keepe warres, that in Rome is  
kept a market of purgatorie, that holie  
things are there set out to sale, that  
manie men are to muche incombred  
with superstition in the woorshipping  
of Sainctes, that Priestes liue not very  
continently, and that they abuse their  
sacrifices now and then to their luker  
and gaine.

First of all as towching warres you  
must thinke, that we can not of reason  
and equitie condemne all warres. For  
they



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they are some times begonne for the defence of Religion, and maintenance of a iust cause.

As for the buying and selling of holie thinges, if in so manie hundred yeares some suche matter haue ben vsed, it is no wonder. For (as you saie your selfe ) it can not be chosen, but that sometimes in the good corne there will growe some weedes. And if anie such abuse haue ben, it is now taken quite awaie.

If superstition trouble mens mindes now and then, it is verie easily taken awaie by the labour and diligence of Bishops. The vicious and vncleane life of Priestes is verie seuerely punished. And there are at this time emongest vs a great manie moe of them, that liue verie continently, then of such, as will disteine them selues with vicious and vncleane liuing.

Last of all, to passe ouer all other, the vertuous, godlie, and religious example

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example of this most holie Pope Pius the fifth, (whome neither ambition, neither coueteousnes, neither the fauour of the people, neither yet the rashnes of men, but the holie Ghoste hath placed in this roome of high honour and dignitie) bringeth to passe, that all thinges waxe better and better euerie daie, and that verie manie are stirred to the loue of true godlines.

But admitte there were no suche matter at this time, as I talke of: admit that al went to naught, and that there were no man to resourme the church where it is decaied: should it be well done by and by to euerthrow all such thinges, as haue ben wisely ordeined, so soone as men doe abuse them to naughtines? No truly: but rather to prouide, as neere as we maie, that holy thinges maie no more be abused. For otherwise all would decaie, and there wold folow a meruelous disorder and confu-

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confusion of thinges in the Church.

If you, as you haue for the misbehauour of a fewe monkes (as you saie) taken quite awaie the whole order, and for the lewdnes of certain Priestes ouerthrowen the dignitie of Priesthood, and authoritie of Bishoppes: so you woulde procede, ( for it standeth with as good reason as the other doth) and for the default of a Magistrate, or Prince, or King, which hath not done his dewtie, take awaie the orderly gouernment of the common weale, together with the Kinglie honour and authoritie: the worlde shoulde come againe to that confusion, which (as the Poetes report) was, before that nature was disposed and set in comelie order. For what thing is so holie, the whiche men maie not abuse sometimes to doe much harme and mischiese? For, that we maie goe no further, wedlocke it selfe, (which you preferre before perpetuall virginie) is it alwaies kept in  
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such chaste, godly, and religious order,  
as it ought to be? Doe the housbâdes  
neuer looke besides their wiues? Doe  
the wiues neuer beguyle their hous-  
bandes? Are there no aduowtries cō-  
mitted nowe and then emong? Yeas  
questionles are there: and manie fowle  
and shameful actes are done of married  
men oftentimes, with great rashnes  
and impudencie. Shall we therfore, for  
the lewd demeanour of some married  
persones, breake the band of man and  
wife, and take awaie the holie state of  
lawfull wedlocke? No truly. For then  
woulde men and women runne vnto  
it without order, and there woulde be  
no differēce betwene them and brute  
beastes. Wherfore although all our  
doinges were voide of al good order,  
honestie, and religion: yet are not such  
things, as haue ben for a most godlie  
pourpose deuised and ordeined, forth-  
with to be disannulled, but rather or-  
der woulde be taken, that thinges,  
which

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which are amisse, might be amended. Neither are suche thinges, as maie be cured, to be cut of: neither yet, if the festered and corrupt partes of the body must needes be pared of, is it necessarie for that to destroie the whole bodie, whiche maie be recouered: neither is the state of a common weale to be altered, so soone as anie disorder happeneth in it, but rather reason woulde, that al such matters, as are decayed, should be brought again to that comelie order, in the whiche they were at the begynning.

Aristotel telleth, that there was a certaine man called Hippodamus of Milesum, which wrote of a common weale. Emongest other matters he reciteth a lawe of his, by the which he decreed, that a great rewarde shoulde be geauen out of the common treasure to him, that coulde deuise anie lawe profitable for the commo weale. This decree Aristotel misliketh. For he  
thinketh,

thinketh, that there woulde be an end  
 in making of lawes, bicause the often  
 chaunging of them is wont by litle  
 and litle to bring them into contempt:  
 and the lawes being once despised,  
 the good estate of a common weale  
 can not long continewe. Wherefore  
 that excellent learned man counsel-  
 leth al such, as make lawes, to foresee,  
 that there be not more euyl in the of-  
 ten altering of the lawes, then there is  
 in that disorder, which they goe about  
 to resourme by the new lawe. For he  
 thinketh it more safetic to keepe indis-  
 ferēt good lawes, then to make others  
 not muche better. Wherein he hath  
 good reason. For whie, that constant  
 and perpetuall reuerence towardes  
 the lawes causeth a certaine feare and  
 bashfulnes, and linketh men together  
 within them selues with a sure and in-  
 uiolable band of equitie. But this fond  
 appetite that men haue to alter and  
 chaunge the law (without som weighty  
 cause)

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cawse ) engendreth a presumptuous boldnes, and maketh a waie by subtile and wylie meanes to take the lawe quite awaie, and to bring in tyrannie. And although there came none other inconuenience of it , yet at the least it disordereth the common weale.

Nowe this , whiche is to be feared about the innouation of lawes, is to be determined about religion so muche the more constantly , the greater the perill is to offend in religion, then in anie other thing. This thing cōsidered the fownders of common weales of olde time , punished such , as brought in anie new tricke of religion out of other places, with death or banishmēt, and decreed, that the rites or fashions of the countrey shoulde be most constantly reteined . Wherin , although they had shaped them selues a religion after a very bad sort, and liued in great errors, yet was this their ordinaunce not altogether voide of good reason  
and

and consideration. For if it were possible, that some one religion might be more commendable then some other, he, that should take awaie an old religion, whiche were not vngodly, to set vp an other religion, that were but a litle better, should do a shrewd tourne to the common weale.

Whic so, saie you? Bicause he should bring in a custome to alter Religion, and, by consequent, to bring Religion into contempt. And so it might come to passe, that diuers and sundrie religions coming in one after an other, being either deuised by craftie wittes, or els taken out of other countreis, might moue great debate about the establishing of religiō: and while euery religiō should disprooue one an other, the matter might by litle and litle so fall out at the length, that all religion should come to naught.

The which thing being true, (that we maie retourne to our disputation

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again)



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againē) how is this to be taken, that a religion, which, is most true, holy, and auncient, approoued and confirmed by the testimony of God, by the bloud of Christe, by the faith of holie men, shoulde be discredited by reason of a new gospel deuised bi the wit of a sort of filthy varlets? Is it not a consequent (as we now see it fal out euery where) that there arise a number of religions of diuersle sortes, all vngodlye and naught, yea and iarring within them selues? That they arise one against another? That euerie one of them dis-prooue the folie of others? That neuer a one of them being able to mainteine it selfe by grownded reason, and strōg argument, they come all at the length to be despised and set at naught?

By these steppes or degrees are mē come to that point at the length, that manie a one raiseth vp the damned sprites of Arius, Sabellius, and other most detestable heretikes from hell, and

and reneweth their errours, whiche were before buried: some others thinke, that there is no Religion true at all; and perswade them selues, that the worlde is not gouerned by God. This fruite haue the brochers of your newly deuised and fresh tapped gospel brought into common weales, that euerie man maie professe him selfe to be a setter vp of a newe Religion, and take vp the sweard against all other, that are deuisers of the like pestilent sectes: whereby it is like at the length, that al order of Religiō maie be taken quite awaie. O what bountifull and profitable felowes are these, whiche haue so woorthely prepared a waie to al mischiefe and vngodlines?

And yet you asked me, what came into my head, to affirme, that these sectes are daungerous and hurtful vnto Princes. Tel me sir, I praie you, such as haue presumed to doe so great villanie, as to ouerthrowe the wonderful

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example of chaste and cleane life, to deface al monumentes of religiō and holines, to burne the holie Canōs or rules of the Church openly, at a sermon, to raise the state of the church with their weapons (where they might be suffered to doe it) to bring the people to hate the lawe, and so to plaie outrageous and mad partes, to despise all lawfull authoritie, to set God and al godlie order at naught, to fill the Churches and chapples of religious men with blood, to egge and allure the simple people through the hope of too much libertie to take vp armour: think you not, that these felowes (when so euer they shall finde occasion) will tourne the selfe same furie and rage vpon the Princes them selues? Is it not wel knowen (as it is saied before) what they haue wrought and practised against the emperor in Germanie, against the estate and life of King Henrie in Fraunce, against Edward, whome they made  
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awaie with poison, and afterwarde  
 against Quene Marie in England? Is  
 it not knowen, how traiterously and  
 furiously they bent them selues against  
 the maiestie of these Princes? What  
 shal I here saie of the King of Scotland,  
 whome the worlde knoweth to haue  
 ben most crewelly murdered? What?  
 Haue they not wrought the like trea-  
 son against many other Princes also?

I leaue out a number of examples  
 of this barbarous villanie, whiche I  
 could here recite. And, although there  
 were none suche, yet woulde I not  
 dowbt to saie so much, as I haue saied.  
 For it is not the part of a wise man,  
 when he seeth the cause, to dowbt of  
 the ouent, whiche foloweth necessa-  
 rily of the cause. For when I see the  
 common people void of feare, vnru-  
 lie and searce through a pretended name  
 of libertie, outragiously following  
 their owne vnbridled wil and plesure,  
 haughtely flingyng vp and down, bea-  
 ring

### THE THIRD

ring them selues vppon a false opinion of Religion : maie I dowbte, but that they are most spitefully bent against al authoritie, wherby they thinke, that their libertie, (which they so griedely long after) maie be hindered?

These are the things, M. Haddon, these are the things, that doe dishonest Religion, and not those matters, which you speake of. For what is more comely and honest, then to obey such authoritie, as is ordeined by God? To dread and feare the iudgemēt of God? Reuerently to consider the mercie of God, in them, whome he first trieth by dewe punishment, and so admitteth them into life euerlasting? To call to mind the monumentes of iustice, godlines and holines? To yeld vp humble praiers vnto God in the most holie sacrifices, for the good estate of the liuing, and for the saluation of the dead? But in the meane time, while you dowbte not to saie, that these most  
godlie

godlie orders are the thinges, that doe dishonest religiō, you marke not how great the dishonestie of your religiō is.

For, that I maie saie nothing els, can there be anie greater dishonestie of religion, then that all Sacramentes and ceremonies, al decrees and ordinaunces of the Church, al priesthood and holie orders shoulde be vnder the rule and gouernement of a woman? I meane not hereby to disgrace your Queene, whome I desire to see so beawtified and furnished with most excellent vertues, that her name maie remaine as a thing of holie remembrance vnto all the posteritie. Neither doe I so muche blame her, as you, whiche haue by your flatterie brought her to this inconuenience, that she taketh her selfe to be gouernesse of the Church. Tel me sir, if it like you, where haue you readde, that euer anie Prince tooke vpon him the office or charge of the high Bilhoppe?

LL iijj

No

### THE THIRD

No rather, all suche Princes as loued  
godlines and iustice, whose name is for  
their noble actes set out to the poste-  
ritie for euer, did reuerence the iudge-  
mēt of Priestes, refused not to be obe-  
dient vnto Bishoppes, and thought like  
verie wise men, that it would turne  
to their euerlasting commendation, if  
they were gouerned by them. So did  
your great Cōstantine, the most woor-  
thie ornamēt and beawty of your Ilād:  
so did our Theodosius, so did Lewis  
King of Fraunce, so did a number of o-  
thers, which with most noble victories  
enlarged their Empiere verie farre:  
when they had subdewed al countreis  
with armour, they did so obey the de-  
crees and ordinaunces of Bishops, that  
they seemed to glorie not so much in  
their Empire, as in that obediēce. But  
you haue brought al holie thinges not  
only vnder a king, which (as I shewed  
before) were to be esteemed as a most  
heinous offēce, but also vnder a quene,  
against

against all right and reason, against the inuiolable reuerence of most pure religion, against the ordinaunces of almighty God: you haue taken awaye the most holy dignity of the high bishoprike from the lawfull bishops, and haue transposed it to be administred by a woman. The which, I say, was a most wicked deede, a most barbarouse acte, a most detestable and cursed offence. Whereby it may be gathered, that mans heart can imagine no mischiefe so horrible and diuellish, that these flatterers wil not take vpo them to practise it, with desperate boldnesse and impudencie.

Here do I passe ouer many thinges, and vnto the railing words, which you heape together against me, I answere you nothing, for in deede I regard them not. Neither is it my meaning to confute your railing wordes, but to take vppon me the defence of moste holy Religion, for the which it were  
a good-



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a goodly matter for me to die. Al other thinges therefore I let passe, that I may come to that place, in the which you drawe bloud of your owne body, yea and geaue your selfe a deadly wound with your owne handes. Your wordes are these.

*What then? This holy doctrine of the gospel, in the which we haue continued more then thirtie yeares together ( the most troublesome space of six yeares excepted ) in the which the Queenes maiestie hath passed ouer all her life, in the which she hath founde God so mercifull vnto her, in the which the states of the realm are fully agreed, in the which many noble statutes and lawes haue enfewed: this true and sincere worshipping of almighty God, which is so diligently enuironed and fortified on euery side by the Queenes maiesty, shal the voice of a seely fellow of Portugal breake it downe? What a deale of matter you heape vp together, M. Haddō, how vnadvisedly you speake*

speake (that I may not say, how rashly and madly). for first of al, this, whiche you cal the holy doctrine of the gospel, is the doctrine of Luther, Zwinglius, Bucer, Caluin, and other the like brain-sicke felowes, which haue, not only by their most pestilent decrees and ordinances, but also by the example of their filthy and vicious liuing, quite ouerthrowen al chastitie, holines, modestie, meekenesse, and obedience: which haue broken and cast away true faith, and in steede of it haue serpye a rashe and presumptuous boldnesse: whiche haue taken awaie libertie (although in their talke they pretende otherwyse) and for that haue rewarded their adherentes with a licence to lyue in naughtinesse vncontrolled: whiche haue taken awaie the gyft of iustice (which is the greatest and largest grace that man maie receyue of God) and for true iustice haue brought in a feyned and counterfeyte iustice: which,

### THE THIRD

which, of a mad and vngodly minde, haue not ben ashamed to impute the cause of al synne and wickednesse to God that most perfecte goodnes, from whome no euil can proceede: which, (whereas they tooke vppon them to scoure or purge the gospel throughly, and to repaire the Church agayne, which tendeth to ruine) haue not only not perfourmed so muche, as they prowdly and rashly promised to doe, but haue moreouer beraied the Church (the vncleanes whereof religious menne could not beare before) with much filthinesse of vice and naughtines, and haue brought it to be rent and riuen in peaces.

What should we thinke to be the cause, wherefore, when any man infected with the contagion of this doctrine is taken emongest vs (whiche is counted here a very straunge matter) although he set neuer so sad or graue countenaunce vpon it to make a colour

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lour and shewe of holinesse, yet will the concealed trickes of a disordered and carnal mind shewe them selues, and manie fowle vices, whiche were before hidden vnder the couert of hypocrisie, wil soorthwith appeere. For the more a man geueth him selfe to this doctrine, the more is he contrarie to bathfulnes and continencie.

I omit to speake of your earnest talke, wherein you say, that this newe broched Church, which is disteined with innumerable vices, may be compared with the Church of the Apostles, which was most flourishing with heauenly gyftes, with religion and holinesse.

As for that comparison of myne, wherein I shewed, what great difference there was betwene the twoo Churches, I would not haue you vainly and without any fruite to find faule withal. For as yet you haue not confuted it, neither shal you euer be able

to

### THE THIRD

to doe it. And who so euer shall attempt to do it, shall doe nothing elles, but only set out to the world his owne madnes and impudencie together, and cause al men to laugh at his folie, and abhorre his malice.

That I may therfore omit that foolish and shamelesse talke of yours, I would you would compare this your Church, but onely with the Church of your auncetours: the which thing if you doe, you shall finde, that there is brought in for the religious conuersation of your forefathers, a presumptuous boldnes: for their grauitie and constancie, a light and vnsetled harishnesse: for their continencie, sensualitytie: for their manhood nicenesse. And will you call this the holy Doctrine of the gospel, which hath ouerthrowen and defaced so many holie thinges, and in steede of them hath brought in such a deale of naughtines and disordre?

Call

Call to remembraunce I pray you  
the first founding of this your Church.  
For you maie not wel dissemble  
suche thinges, as are commonly tal-  
ked of all menne, and in writing com-  
mended to the euerlasting remem-  
braunce of all the posteritie. Wan-  
tonnesse and loue were the first set-  
ters vppe of it: the breache of lawe  
and ordre, and a hatred towards the  
Pope for geauing sentence agaynst  
the offender enlarged it: the flat-  
terie of lewde felowes with the healep  
of lying walled it: inordinate desire  
and coueteousnesse senced it: the pu-  
nishinge of holie and innocent per-  
sonnes halowed it: the putting of al  
menne in feare confirmed it: final-  
lye the Doctrine of such menne, as  
were sent into those coastes not from  
Godde, but from Satan, infected it  
with moſte pestilent and seditious er-  
rors. Dare you call this a religious,  
godly, and holy doctrine, whose begin-  
ning

The first  
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of the pro-  
testantes  
Church.

## THE THIRD

ning, proceeding, increase, and endo  
you see (vnlesse you be in extreme and  
miserable blindnesse) to haue ben set  
vppon, solowed, and finished with  
naughtinesse, incontinenzie, hatred,  
coueteousnes, creweltie, outrage and  
madnes?

Then, what a fopperie is that, to  
say, that you haue continewed in this  
doctrin, more then thirtie yeares to-  
gether? O reuerēt horeheaded gospel.  
O auncient heauenly doctrine. O old  
vnspotted religion. But you thinke,  
that you being a wittie and wilie in-  
terpretour of the law forsooth, neede  
not recke much for the antiquitie of  
your doctrine. For you seeme to  
plead prescription, and therefore you  
content your selfe with the space of  
thirtie yeares, within the which tyme  
you thinke, that the ordre of your re-  
ligiō may be lawfully possessed. How-  
beit if you take awaye from thyrty  
yeares the space of six yeares, whiche  
you

you call a troublesome time ) it is euident, that this your holy Gospel is not yet fully thirtie yeares olde.

But admitte that the thirtie yeares were fully expired, if this title of prescription be good, then may the Arabians much better mainteine their sect, then you can yours. For you defende your heresy by the prescriptiō of thirty yerres: but they wil vphold the wicked superstitiō of Mahumet by the possession of more then nine hundred yeares.

You saie moreouer, that the Quenes Maiestie (for such a pleasure haue you to flatter, that you neuer call her the Queene, as though in the name of a Quene, there were litle dignitie, or els her Maiestie should decaie by and by, if you should cal her Quene). You saie therefore, that the Quenes Maiesty hath passed ouer al her life in this doctrine. That this is true, I haue none other warrant but your word. But if it be so, the fault is not so much in her, as in her



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teachers, who had the bringing vp of her, when shee was of age tender and weake, and therefore the more meete to be abused by such subtile and craftie felowes.

Last of all, it is not as yet evidently seene, so long as shee is not free from your tyrannie, which vnder her name, as men saie, doe possesse the kingdom, what waie she would take in al these matters. Of thys I am righte well assured, that her singular wit is not by nature so obstinately bent to mainteine an opinion once conceiued, or so muche geauen to naughtie and false doctrine, that it is not very flexible to yealde vnto good reason, and verie willing to forsake false doctrine, and to folowe that which is true and incorrupted. Wherefore I doubt not, if she be so wittie, as you say shee is, but that shee will (so soone as euer shee may doe it for your importunitie) turne from this your wicked doctrine,

to the honest, godly, and profitable doctrine of the Church.

And wheras you adde these words: *In the which shee hath found God so merciful vnto her:* Me thinketh, you vnderstand not in what thing the testimonie or prouise of Gods mercy standeth. For it standeth not so much in the glory of the people, or in the prosperouse successe of worldli matters, as in the peace and quietnes of cōsciēce, in a mind beautifully decked with the giftes and graces of God, in faith and vpright cōuersatiō, in true and vncorrupted doctrine, in that state of life, which is abundantly furnished with heauenly vertues. Furthermore, if shee haue had God very merciful vnto her, and haue not tryed or fealt as yet his iudgement, she ought to be so muche the more carefull, that she do not offend him, and that she doe not abuse his mercy and clemencie to the contempt of his most pure and holy Religion. And so make so much of five

MM ij yeares

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yeares prosperitie, it argueth a mercen-  
cilouse great rashnes in you. When  
Solon warned Cresus, that he shoulde  
not trust to much to prosperouse for-  
tune; he taught him, that the prospe-  
ritie not of fīue yeares, but of manie  
yeares, is to be feared: and he shewed  
withal, that no man is to be accounted  
happie, so long as he liueth. This Cre-  
sus being afterward ouercome by Cy-  
rus and set vpon a pile of wood to be  
burned, called with a lowd voice vpo  
Solon, by whome he had ben warned  
before of the cōdition of mans frailitie,  
and of the sodaine alteration of world-  
lie felicitie. Cyrus hearing the name of  
Solon, demaūded of Cresus what that  
Solon had ben. To whome Cresus an-  
swered that he had ben the wisest man  
in al Greece, of whom he had learned  
this lesson, that it is the greatest mad-  
nes in the worlde, to be lifted vppe to  
much with prosperitie. Cyrus forth-  
with, caused Cresus to be taken doune

from

from the pile, and vsed him very honourably, and him selfe in all his prosperitie held a goodly meane.

These and the like examples are so wel knowen, and daily experience geueth vs such occasiō to know the vncertaintie of this our condition, that there can not be any greater token of madnes or folie, then to waxe proude, when the worlde serueth vs at will.

For who so euer is puffed vp with the prosperouse successe of things, neither doth he vnderstand, how sodainlie all the wealth of the worlde vanisherh awaye, and from howe high a grieſe or ſtep many of the greateſt Princes haue fallen, to the great wonder of al men: neither doth he conſider, what a violent kinde of ſeueritie that ſupream Iudge vſeth, whē he mindeth to ſhake as it were with a whirle winde, and throw down the eſtate of ſuch as truſt to much to them ſelues. Who is able to ſaie, that al things ſhal prosper with

MM iij

him, ✓

### THE THIRD

him, euen vntil his dying daie? Who is able to assure him selfe of one daie, yea of one hower voide of all calamitie or mishappe? For as darkenes ensweweth vppon lighte, as the tempest is wonte to come vppon the watermen and mariners vnwares: euen so doth heauy chaunces oftentimes marre the flourishing state of fortunate men, and ouerwhelme them in the waues of al aduersity, and driue them against the rockes of euerlasting thraldome and miserie. And the more carelesse men are, the more grieuously are they pained, when any suche calamitie falleth vpon them.

Wherefore it is the parte of a wise man, to consider long time before all suche mischaunces, as maie happen euery daie and hower, yea euerie minute of an hower: but it is a token of a foolish and madde felowe, in prosperitie to forget the weakenesse of manne: especiallie whereas we see  
often-

oftentimes, that almightie God nowe  
 and then suffereth suche, as he is most  
 offended withall, to haue the longer  
 enioying of their apparente felicitie,  
 that he maie of a sodaine strike them,  
 that will not repente, and geue them  
 the deeper wounde. And therefore  
 our Lorde warneth vs, that we be *Gen. 7.6.*  
 not like vnto them, which in the daies  
 of Noe liued a rechelesse life, and so cō  
 tinued euē vnto the time, in the which  
 they were oppressed sodainly with the  
 floud, which they could not possible  
 auoid. He teacheth vs also by the so- *Gen. 19.6.*  
 daine fiering of those Cities, that his  
 iudgement catcheth improuidēt men,  
 as it were with secrete grynnes or  
 snares, in such sort, that they can not  
 escape from euerlasting pounishment  
 and tormentes.

If these thinges be true, what a  
 madnes was that in you, for fīue yeres  
 prosperitie, to vaunt your selfe so ar-  
 rogantly and vainely? To triumph

MM iiii so

### THE THIRD

so insolently? to build so great an argument of Gods fauour towards you vpon so slender a ground? See you not howe manie nations there are in the worlde vtterly voide of the faith of Christe, whose estate is a great deale more flourishing then yours is? If this argument were any thing woorth, see how easily the Turkes shall be able to auouche their pestilent secte, wherein they are drowned. You mainteine your cause with five yeares felicitie: but they wil proue their Religion to be true by their great victories, and by the very prosperouse successe, which they haue had in all their affaires for the space of many yeares.

Last of al, are you wel ascerteined, what alteration one day, or rather one hower, may bring vnto your state? Wherefore are you then so bragge? Wherefore do you vaunt your selfe so farre beyonde all modestie, as though you were free and past al daunger, yea

as though you were altogether exempted from the bondes of the condition of man in suche sorte, that you could not possibly be ouertaken with any so-daine mishap?

As for the agreement of your coun- cel in bringing the auncient Religion to be set at naught and forgotten, (if it be so as you saie) and in makinge the Quenes Maiestie Superintendent in al spiritual matters, I haue already declared, that neither of them both could be donne without incurringe the grieuouse displeasure of God. If you think, that you shall escape vnpunished, because it is delaied, take hede, if you repēt not, while you haue time, lest you doe increase through this your presumption, the plague, that hangeth ouer you.

As for the hope, which I conceiued (as you saie) of your Quene, and therefore wrote those my letters vnto her, it repenteth me not, as yet of my do-  
inges



### THE THIRD

inges. If I haue donne any good, it will appeare at the lengthe. If I haue donne none, yet the signification of my good heart towards her, can not be but wel taken of her, if shee wil continue in her accustomed courtesie and gentlenes.

You saie, I shall not bring her to be of myne opinion, no, althoughe I should write sixe hundred millions of Philippicall Orations. I would faine knowe, how you are able to auouche that. Thinke you, that she is of nature so barbarous and sauage, that although I doe detecte the craftie dealinge and priuie practises of naughtie felowes, and prooue them vnto her by Argumentes inuincible, by reasons more cleere then the sonnes shine at noone-tide, if I set before her eyes the filthines and lewdnes of this counterfeict religion, which they haue most wickedlie and heinouſly deuised, if I declare vnto her in plaine words, how childish your reasons

reasons are, wherwith you goe aboute  
to mainteine their cause, and how il fa-  
uoredly thei hang together: think you,  
I sai, that she wil, not withstāding al this  
rather imbrace your most detestable  
opinion to her certaine and vtter vn-  
doing, then cal to mind againe the true  
Religion, which hath ben forgottē for  
a time through the default and naugh-  
tines of such as should haue put her in  
remembrance of it, to her most assured  
saluation and glory euerlasting? If rea-  
son shal ouercome her, if the authoritie  
of holie Fathers shall cause her to  
yealde, if the Lawe of God shall put  
it into her heart, that shee wil desire to  
forsake and detest this your secte: yet  
haue you so good affiaunce in your  
owne force, and so little estimation  
of the sharpenesse of her witte and  
iudgemente, that you dare warrant,  
that vnlesse you geaue her leaue, shee  
shall neuer retourne (doe what shee  
can) vnto that godly order of Religion,  
which

### THE THIRD

whiche her moste noble Progenitours obserued and kepte very honourably, to their great profit and immortal glorie? Shall you Syr, haue her at your commaundement and becke: shal you take order with her: shal you prescribe her what shee shal beleue, in such sort, that for feare of falling into your displeasure, she shal not regard her owne life and dignitie: but shal rather suffer her selfe to be carried awaie into euerlasting tormentes and damnation, then to gainsaie your opinion, be it neuer so vngodlie, heinouse, and wicked, yea and mainteined with neuer so fond and peeuishe kinde of talke?

But be it. Admitte she be so much an vnderling vnto you, that shee dare not for her life once dissent from you in any thing. What if shee shalbe moued by the instinct of the holy Ghost? What if Christ him selfe shal stirre her heart to consider and enioye his gracious giftes? What if God wil set vp  
such

such a light before her heart, that shee may see how certaine wicked persons woorke priuie treason against her lyfe and persone? And, that I may say nothing els, what if she shall receiue but onely such a smal quantitie of the light of God, that shee may see, that Luther with his disciples and folowers, were neuer moued by the holy Ghoste, but pricked foreward by the fendes of hel, and that they came not to instructe men with wholsome doctrine, but to infecte them with moeste pestilente errors? What? Wilyou this notwithstandinge, holde her backe, will you shackle her in such sorte, that she shall not possibly geue eare to the holy warninges and counsels of God? To continue in a wicked opinion being once conuincd as erroneouse, is the parte of a dul and blunt wit: to be afraid of the vniust displeasure of her own subiects, is a token of a base and cowardlie heart: but to refuse the gift of Gods  
mercies,

### THE THIRD

mercy, to reiect his gracious aid, when it is offred, is an argumēt of an vngodli ād naughty mīd. So shal it com to passe, that you, while you desire to put the worlde to vnderstand what a perillous felowe you are, shal falsely charge that Princeesse, whome you reporte to be mooste excellentlie furnished with all vertues, passingly well adourned with many singular qualities, with dulnes of wit, with feintnes of heart, and with the crime of impietie.

Truely M. Haddon she is very much beholdinge vnto you for your goodly seruice, if you haue by your diligence, so besette her on euery side, that, although she see her self tumbled doune headlong into euerlasting death and damnatiō, yet she may not be so hardy in her hert (if you saie nay to it) as once to whinch or step aside, to auoide the daunger, that hangeth ouer her, lest in so doing, shee might trouble your patience ( more grieuousslie perhappes  
then

then a man would thinke). And yet am I moued to refreine to write vnto her, any more of the same matter for verie iust and good causes. For I think I haue very wel discharged my duety, both in my letters which I sent vnto her, as also in this answer, which I write against your booke, if it happe to come to her hands. Either therfore the things that I haue already written shall haue sufficiente force and strength to make her heart to yelde, or els I shal not be able to doe it, although I write againe. And in deede, I haue not so much vacante time, that I may spend it without any fruiſt or profite.

Let vs now come to your good counſel, wherein you aduertise me, that I should not once hādle the holi scriptures. you cōmend my wit, and my eloquēce you do not mislike. But you say, that I am to be reckoned emongest the Orators and Philosophers, and not emongest the Diuines. My bokes of nobility  
(for

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(for it is like you neuer read any other bookes of myne) you saie you like very wel. I am right glad, that my writings are commended by a manne so finely learned, and so trymly nourtered: and your friendly counsell I take it in good worth. And therfore it liketh me to speake vnto you (Syr newe Diuine) with the selfe same verses, as Horatius feinoth him selfe to haue vsed to Damasippus a new Stoike.

Damasippus had no thing of a Philosopher but onely a beard. The barber therfore shauing his beard, roke avva his Philosopher.

Syr Waulter for your counsel true,  
a barber maie you haue:

Sent from the Gods and Goddesse eke,  
your worthie beard to shaue.

But howe came you to be so well acquainted with me? Who tolde you, that I haue not bestowed a great deale more studie in Diuinitie then in Cicero, Demosthenes, Aristotle and Plato. You comend my wit. what then? think you that the study of Diuinitie is mete for dul heads onely and drawlatches? You like my eloquence: wene you ther-

fore

fore that the holy Scriptures would be handled of rudesbies only and homly felowes? Wheras you geue authoritie to women, to tinkers and tapsters, to the rifferaffe of al occupations, to iangle and prate at rouers in Scripture matters: wil you forbid me, being not only a bishoppe and Prieste, and long tyme exercised in the holy Scriptures with some profite, but also a man (as you report your selfe) both wittie and eloquent, to followe this most godlie trade of learning? Then by what equitie, by what power, by what authoritie doe you this? shal it be lawfull for you being a man of lawe, to geaue o-uer the statutes made for walles, lights, and eues gutters: to despise and cast aside your obligations, bargaines, and couenantes: to lay away the drawing of writes and suites in lawe: and to take vppon you in Diuinitie as bold as blind baiard: and to me, to whom it apperteyneth by office to instructe the

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Church



### THE THIRD

Church committed vnto me in the holy Scriptures, wil you not geue leaue, to bestome much tyme and diligence in the studie of them? You are in-  
iurious two waies. For you doe both violently intrude your selfe into other mens possessions, and wrōgfully thrust me out of myne owne by your vniust iniunctions.

Now those threatens of yours, howe weighty and graue are they? What a great terrour doe they put into me? You say thus. If so be that you mind to vaunt your selfe to certaine men, and so to assault vs any more, I warne you now before, that you come with farre better furniture, then you haue done at this tyme.

You tel me moreouer, that, in case you be dead before, yet there shal not lacke such, as shal breake the dint of my stroke. Whereby I see, that you could neuer so much as gesse, what my meaning is, I knowe, that there are in that

Island

Iland many excellēt men both, for wit,  
learning, and godlines, which wil ne-  
uer molest me, for so much as they a-  
gree with me in religion meruelously  
wel: (although you thinke it a matter  
not to be borne.) Then if any man doe  
write against me, in case he wil cōtend  
with reason, argumētes and examples,  
I wil not refuse to dispute with him.  
But if he fal to railing and reprochfull  
wordes, I can not possibly be persua-  
ded to make him answere. For neither  
am I moued with any reproch, neither  
can I looke, that that victorie should  
tourne me to honestie, where the ma-  
ner of fight is so vn honest. If I shal see,  
that there is any hope to win you and  
such as you are to God, I will not  
doubt to trie both by letters and pray-  
ers, what good I am able to do. Other-  
wise I wil not suffer my tyme, wherof  
I haue litle to spare, to be so il be-  
stowed. For so doth S. Paule teach vs, *Tit. 3. 6.*  
that after one or two warnings wee  
NN ij should

### THE THIR D

should shonne the companie of suche menne as are obstinaty bent in erroneous and wicked opinions, for so much as they are condemned by their owne iudgement. Wherefore I geaue you leaue, to bende your selfe moste fiercely against me with tañtes and reproches. More as much as you list, crie out as slowd as you can. For neither is it conuenient for my person, neither yet comely for the office I beare, to be moued with railing wordes, or elles to make answeere to euerie flaunder. I neuer reuiled you, whome I knewe not.

As for my epistle, which you rend and teare with spitefull language, it hath not one reprochful word in it, vnlesse perhaps you wil cal the most iust bewailing and most true declaration of errors and wicked vices a reproche. And yet like a wilde bore thrust thorough with a venemous dart, you rāne vpō me, as though you had ben wood.

But

But I was not only nothing disquieted with your reprochfull words, but also moued to laugh at your fond talke. I take my God to witnesse, that, if the loue, which I beare to true Religion and godlines, had not earnestly moued me, I had neuer put pen to the paper to write against your booke. But if you knew, how much I pity your case, and what a hartie desire I haue of your saluation, (for I would with all my hart, as the dewty of a Christian man requirereth, yeald my selfe to die for the saluation of you and your countrei men) you would surely be at one with me. For I was not moued by anie euyl wil I beare you, but it was verie charitie, that prouoked me instantly to write. I praie Christ our most bowntifull and almightie Lord, I humbly besech him, by his precious blood shed for the saluation of al men, by his woundes and most bitter passion, by his death, by the which he ouercame death, by his vi-

### THE THIRD

torie whiche he archieted ouer the  
kingdome of Satan, to deliuer that  
kingdom, in the which hath ben some-  
time a dwelling place of vertue, re-  
ligion, grauitie and iustice, and is now  
disordered thorough the lewdnes of  
desperate felowes, from errours and  
heresie: to make the brightnes of his  
light to shine ouer them: to bring them  
again to the faith and vnitie of most  
true Religiō: to carie them backe vnto  
the fold of the catholike Church: to  
gouerne and mainteine them by the  
assistance of his holy spirite: that al we,  
which are now sundered in opinions,  
maie at length agree in the vnitie of  
faith, and loue of true Religion, and so  
come to that euerlasting glorie,  
to the great reioysing of al  
the holie companie  
in heauen.



*Liber iste lectus est & approbatus a  
viris sacrae Theologiae et Angli-  
cani idiomatis peritissimis, qui-  
bus tutò credendum esse existi-  
mo: maxime cum tantum transla-  
tus sit ex Latino legitime appro-  
bato.*

*Cunerus Petri, Pastor Sancti  
Petri Louanij. 3. septemb.  
Anno. 1568.*



*Deing*

